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A  
History of England.

JOHN ALLEGRA, D.D.

VOL. VIII.



J. Harvey.

J. Russell.

THE ESCAPE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM LOCH LEVEN.

Boston:  
Phillips, Sampson, & Co.





A

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

FROM THE FIRST

INVASION BY THE ROMANS

TO THE

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY

IN 1688

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BY JOHN LINGARD, D. D.

---

A NEW EDITION,

AS ENLARGED BY DR. LINGARD SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

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BOSTON:

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON AND COMPANY.

NEW YORK: J. C. DERBY.

MDCCCLV.



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**OF**  
**THE EIGHTH VOLUME.**

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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WHOEVER is conversant with the history of this period A.D. 1557 must have observed that, in the judgment of most of the Scottish lords, self-interest was paramount to every other consideration. Hence their conduct perpetually varied with the varying course of events; every new prospect of gain or aggrandizement suggested new counsels and new crimes, and the most solemn engagements were both contracted and violated with equal precipitancy. We have seen the same individuals binding themselves by their duty to the eternal God, first to prevent the marriage of Darnley with their queen, then to raise that nobleman to the throne, and, lastly, to procure his assassination. The reader will not be surprised, if he now beholds them entering on a fourth association, to punish the murderer whose deed they had promised "to reckon as their own," and then to transfer the sovereign authority from the queen to a regent of their own creation.

Of the lords who, though not in the secret of the murder, had been induced, by fear or interest, to subscribe the bond in favour of Bothwell's marriage, many

were at the very time ashamed of their own conduct. In such a state of mind, they viewed his subsequent seizure of the royal person with feelings of suspicion and resentment. Meetings were held; projects of opposition were suggested; and inquiry was made what part the queen of England would take in the approaching contest\*. The question awakened in her ministers fresh hopes of effecting that which the war of the reformation had failed to accomplish. But Elizabeth checked their eagerness: she refused to interfere with an armed force; and merely signified her assent that the earl of Bedford might repair to Berwick, and "comfort" the discontented lords. Cecil, however, though he dared not give any express assurance of support, acquainted them with his opinion, that the nobility of Scotland, but particularly those who had previously bound themselves to Bothwell, must immediately take up arms, if they wished to avoid the infamy of being considered accomplices in his guilt †.

It has been assumed by some writers that, when Morton and Maitland joined with Bothwell in plotting the death of Darnley, they had two other objects in view, which they carefully concealed from their colleague: the dethronement of Mary, and the subsequent elevation of Murray to the regency. But philosophical historians are apt to attribute to the foresight of politicians those counsels which are, in reality, suggested by the passing events of the day. The dissension between Mary and her husband had produced suspicion; by her precipitate marriage that suspicion was ripened into conviction; and the associates of Bothwell saw that, unless they joined his opponents, they must submit to share his infamy, perhaps his punishment. The earls of Morton, Marr, and Athol, the lords Home, Semple, and Lindsay, the lairds of Tullibardine and Grange, met at Stirling, and were joined by Montrose, Glencairn,

\* By Kirkaldy of Grange, apud Chalmers, ii. 236, note a.

† Chalmers, ii. 235, note x. Robertson, i. App. No. xx.

Ruthven, and Sinclair. Their plan to surprise Bothwell June and the queen at Borthwick was defeated by a rapid 5. flight to Dunbar: but they entered Edinburgh, and by 11. proclamation charged the earl with the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the prince, that he might murder the heir apparent, as he had already murdered his father\*.

In four days Bothwell ventured with his friends to meet the more numerous and well-appointed force of his enemies on Carberry hill, at no great distance from Edinburgh. From an early hour in the morning till 15 nine at night, the two armies faced each other. It was in vain that Le Croc employed his authority and eloquence to reconcile the parties. The queen offered a full pardon to the confederates, on condition that they should disband their forces; they required of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime. He offered to fight singly with Morton, or any one of his accusers. The challenge was accepted first by Tullibardine, afterwards by Lindsay: but, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, no combat followed†. At length it was agreed that he

\* Anderson, i. 128—134. It appears, from the letter of Beaton, that Bothwell escaped from Borthwick in the morning, before the arrival of the lords; that Mary remained there all the day, with about half a dozen servants; and that at night she rode away in male attire, was received at a short distance by Bothwell, and conveyed by him to Dunbar. Laing, ii. 109. This fact proves incontestably that the queen was unwilling to separate from Bothwell, whether her reluctance arose from attachment, or from the causes which in a few pages she will assign.

† According to Bothwell himself, the queen and her gentlemen considered the opposite champion beneath Bothwell in point of rank and ancestry; but he adds, "I so persuaded her and them, by the many reasons I urged, that they eventually consented that the combat should take place. I repaired to the field of battle to await the arrival of my antagonist, where I remained till very late in the evening: he did not, however, make his appearance, as I will prove, when necessary, by the testimony of five thousand gentlemen, upon pain of forfeiting my life." The queen wished to prevent the effusion of blood, and desired him to retire, promising to return to him, or to write to him at Dunbar; and then the agreement in the text was made, both by word of mouth and in writing, p. 530, l. According to Du Croc, the objection on the ground of inferiority was made only to Tullibardine, and the combat with Lindsay did not take place, because the queen refused her consent. He also mentions her

should retire without molestation ; that the queen should return to her capital, and that the associated lords should pay to her that honour and obedience which was due to the sovereign. She gave her hand to Kirkaldy of Grange, and was by him conducted to the army of his colleagues, in whose name Morton, bending his knee, said, "This, madam, is the place where you ought to be ; and we will honour, serve, and obey you as ever the nobility of this realm did any of your progenitors." The agreement was mutually ratified, and the army returned towards Edinburgh\*.

- An hour did not elapse before Mary learned that she was a captive in the hands of unfeeling adversaries. At her entrance into the city, she was met by a mob in the highest state of excitement ; her ears were assailed with reproaches and imprecations ; and before her eyes was waved a banner, representing the dead body of her late husband, and the prince her son on his knees exclaiming, "Revenge my cause, O Lord." The provost imprisoned her in an upper story of his own house, and gave orders that no person, not even her maids, should have access to her. During the two-and-twenty hours that
- June 16. she was confined in this solitary cell, the unhappy queen abandoned herself to the terrors which her situation inspired. From the street she was repeatedly seen at the window, almost in a state of nudity, and was often heard to call on the citizens, conjuring them to arm and deliver their sovereign from the cruelty of traitors. About nine
17. the next evening she was conducted to Holyrood house, and after a respite of an hour was conveyed by a body of

promise to Bothwell. See Von Raumer, ii. 102. Murray, in his proclamation to the king's name of 14th May, 1568, says that Bothwell "refused singular combat of a lord and baron of parliament, howbeit before he had offered himself thereto by his cartel and proclamation."

\* Goodall, ii. 145. 164. Laing, ii. 116. This connivance at the escape of Bothwell appears to confirm the opinion that the confederate lords chiefly aimed at the deposition of Mary, and the establishment of a regency. Had they taken possession of him, though they might not have so easily deprived the queen of her crown, they could have immediately effected what they professed to have in view, the punishment of the murderer, and the dissolution of the marriage.

four hundred armed men out of the capital. Athol rode on one side of the captive, Morton on the other; and at some distance they delivered her to the custody of Lindsay and Ruthven, by whom she was led to the castle of Lochleven, the residence of William Douglas, uterine brother of Murray, and heir presumptive to Morton; and placed under the care of Margaret Douglas, the mother of Murray, and, as she pretended, not the mistress, but the real wife of king James\*.

Elizabeth had been informed of this extraordinary revolution by an envoy from the insurgents, whom she received with the strongest expressions of displeasure. The insult offered to the Scottish queen was, she contended, common to every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned; it required severe and immediate punishment, that subjects might learn to restrain their unhallowed hands from the anointed persons of their sovereigns. The queen spoke her real sentiments: but there is reason to believe that the secretary did not participate in the feelings of his sovereign. The enemies of Mary were the very men whom he had hitherto patronised; and the revolution which they had recently effected, offered the surest means of accomplishing the favourite object of his policy, the extinction of the French, and with it of the catholic, interest in Scotland. Four weeks after the captivity of Mary, Throckmorton appeared in

\* Keith, 403. "Sche came yesterday to ane windo of hir chalmur, that lukkit on the hiegait, and cryit forth on the pepill, quhow sche was baldin in prison, and keepit be hir awin subjects, quha had betrayit hir." "Sche came to the said windo sundrie tymes in sa miserable a stait, hir hairs hangand about hir loggs, and hir breest, yea the maist pairt of all hir bodie, fra the waist up, bair and discoverit, that na man could luk upon hir bot sche movit him to pitie and compassion. For my ain part I was satisfieit to heir of it, and meicht not suffer to see it." Beaton's letter of the 17th. Laing, ii. 117. Mary accused Maitland and Kirkaldy as the cause of her misfortunes. Randolph afterwards says to them: "You two were the chief occasions of the calamities, as she hath said, that she is fallen into. You, lord of Liddington, by your persuasion and counsel to apprehend her, to imprison her, yea, to have taken presently the life from her; and you, lord of Grange, by your solicitation, travel, and labour to bring in others, to allow thereof, and to put in execution that, which by the other, you, lord of Liddington, was devised." Strype ii. App. 20.



July Edinburgh in quality of ambassador from Elizabeth.

12. From the lords he was instructed to demand immediate access to the royal prisoner, and her restoration to the free exercise of her authority : to Mary herself he was to offer the powerful protection of the English queen, who, if her Scottish sister would ingenuously confess the truth, would either contrive the means of saving her honour, in case her honour were at stake, or punish her guilty subjects for the false charges which they had brought against her ; and to both he was to recommend a reconciliation on the basis of the divorce of Mary from Bothwell, the prosecution of the latter for the death of Darnley, and a general amnesty for all other offences. This was the avowed object of his mission : but another and more important object was, to oppose any plan for the conveyance of Mary's infant son to France, and to procure, if it were possible, the removal of the young prince to England, that he might be brought up under the care of his kinswoman, the English queen. There cannot be a doubt that Elizabeth herself sought with sincerity the liberation of Mary ; she could not brook the notion that subjects should presume to incarcerate or punish their sovereign ; but there is reason to believe that such was not the object of her ambassador or of her favourite ministers. Throckmorton maintains, indeed, that he complied with his instructions to the letter ; but he owns, at the same time, that he disapproved of the policy of the queen ; and most of his dispatches betray a secret effort to divert her from her purpose by artfully insinuating that her demands were more likely to provoke the death than to procure the liberty of the royal captive\*.
13. He was received with great respect by the lords in the capital, but to his repeated proposals they declined to return any answer until the greater part of their associates should return from the country. An assembly of the kirk had been called to meet in Edinburgh,
- 15.

\* See them in Stevenson's "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," p. 190—301.

and the town was soon filled with the most violent and fanatic of the party.

Knox and the ministers proved from texts and instances in the Scriptures that sovereigns like other men were amenable to justice : the populace, especially the women, called for the death of the queen, because she had no more right to commit adultery and murder than the meanest of her subjects ; and so great was the excitement that Throckmorton expressed fears not only for the life of Mary, but even for his own safety, as he was known to have come to negotiate in her favour.

In the mean time the lords in secret council had devised three instruments, by one of which Mary was made to resign the crown in favour of her infant son ; by the second Murray was appointed regent during his minority ; and by the third certain noblemen were named counsellors to supply the place of Murray, until July his return from France, and in case of his death. A 24. deputation, at the head of which was lord Lindsay, the keeper of Mary, the sternest and most unfeeling of the saints, was now sent to Lochleven, to require the queen's signature to these instruments, under a threat of bringing her, in case of refusal, to trial on three charges, of tyranny towards her people, of adultery with Bothwell and others, and of participation in the murder of her husband. With the deputies came also Melville, the bearer of letters from Throckmorton, and from some of the lords, the secret friends, as they pretended, of the captive, advising her to consent without hesitation ; because no deed, executed under such circumstances, could be binding in law. She had just perused these July letters, when Lindsay entered, threw the instruments on 25. the table, and bade her either sign them, or prepare to die as the assassin of her husband. The unhappy queen burst into tears ; then, hastily recovering herself, took up the pen, and subscribed her name without looking at the contents\*.

\* Keith, 430—434. Ils m'ont menassé de me tuer, si je ne signois. Anderson, iv. 31, par. ii. 86. There was another paper signed by the queen, an order to Thomas Sinclair, keeper of the privy seal, to seal the other three

July 26. That Mary had acted under restraint, and through fear for her life, no man could doubt; yet the lords waited the next day on Throckmorton; and unblushingly announced to him through Maitland the conclusion to which the captive queen had come "upon **her** owne voluntarie advise: that is to say, findinge **herself** bothe in helthe unmeete to take the care and governaunce of the realme, and also unfortunate in th'administration thereof, and beinge very desirous to see **her** sonne the yonge prynce settled in her seate in her lyffe tyme, she had commanded them under her hande **wrytinge** to proceed to his coronation, as a thynge that **she** should take the most pleasure to see:" and in conclusion they invited him to attend at the ceremony as representative of his sovereign. He refused. Elizabeth, he said, wished the young prince as much honour as was wished by any one among them; but she would never consent that the son should depose his mother from her throne\*.

July 29. Three days later the royal babe (he had attained the age of thirteen months) was sworn, anointed, and crowned, in the High Church at Sterling. It was a most singular ceremony. The infant lay unconscious on the throne; the deeds lately executed by his mother in prison were publicly read, and the lords Lindsay and Ruthven deposed upon oath that they had been executed by her freely and willingly in their presence. But how was the young king to be sworn? The earl of Morton, one of the murderers of his father, came forward to take the coronation oath as the royal proxy. It had been improved by a few additional clauses binding the sovereign to serve the eternal his God according to his holy word established in the kirk, to abolish and gainstand all false religion, and to root out heretics and enemies of God's worship, convict of instruments. He refused, because the queen was in "ward." But Lindsay took the seal from him, "and wyt company of folkis compellit him to scill the same."—See his protest in Blackwood's Magazine, ii. p. 32. It may be some confirmation of this that Throckmorton informs Elizabeth "that Murray's appointment to the regency was signed with Mary's hande, and sealed *with her prevye seale.*" Stevenson, p. 289. \* Ibid. 250. 1.

the same by the judgment of the kirk. Knox preached the sermon, after which the unction followed, though it was loudly condemned by the new apostle as a mere Jewish rite. The lords, however, had insisted on it as necessary to introduce the new sovereign among *Christian* sovereigns, and to secure to him the veneration of the people. The coronation was performed by the bishop of Orkney, assisted by the laird of Dun and the superintendent of Lothian, holding the crown over the head of the infant. The Hamiltons and other partisans of the captive queen had been invited to attend, but refused to sanction her dethronement by their presence\*.

The only thing now wanting to complete the revolution was the acceptance of the regency by the earl of Murray. The reader is aware of the dark and dissembling character of this statesman. During the last three months he had remained aloof in France, but now prepared to return home through England. His intention with respect to the regency he kept a profound secret within his own bosom; yet he was received at the court of Charles IX. as if he were already invested with the office, and accepted from that monarch a present of plate valued at fifteen hundred crowns, and the grant of a yearly pension of four thousand francs†. In England he seems to have condemned openly and severely the presumption of his Scottish friends in making a prisoner of their sovereign; so much, perhaps, was necessary to propitiate the English queen; yet this

\* Keith, 437—459. Stevenson's Collections, 257. 286. Anderson, i. 44. If we may believe Throckmorton, a day or two after the ceremony the archbishop of St. Andrew's proposed to the lords of the secret council that they should put Mary to death in punishment of her crimes, after which all her party would join with them; for there would then be no cause for dissension between them. "This," observes Mr. Tytler, "is a new fact, involving a charge of unwonted perfidy, even in that age." To me it appears an atrocious calumny. The archbishop, during the absence of the duke of Chastelherault, was the leader of the Hamiltons. His devotion to the cause of the Scottish queen, both before and after this time, is proved by his continual efforts in her service, his letters to Throckmorton, and the cruel death which he suffered in reward of his loyalty. On what authority, then, is he now charged with perfidy to her? Upon hearsay only. The ambassador is told so by Tullibardine and Lethingdon, two of Mary's bitterest foes, and told so at a moment when it was necessary to raise doubts of the sincerity of the Hamiltons in the mind of Elizabeth; for the archbishop had sent to her the bond made by Mary's partizans, to effect, if it were possible, the liberation of their sovereign on the very terms proposed by Elizabeth herself. See Tytler, viii. 141—144; Stevenson, 199. 278. 287. † Ibid. 192.

did not prevent him on certain occasions from disclosing that new proofs had been discovered of the guilt imputed to his sister\*. In Scotland he persisted in holding the same ambiguous language; he would have an interview with the captive at Lochleven, before he would give a positive answer. To this the lords assented, and he hastened thither, having in his company Morton, Athole, and Lindsay. At the news of his arrival a gleam of hope shot across the mind of the unfortunate queen. Murray was her favourite brother. To her he owed his wealth, his honours, and his influence. She had formerly pardoned his treason and ingratitude, and restored him to the first place in her council. Mary hastened to meet him, and, to her surprise, found him cold, formal, and reserved; her tears, caresses and entreaties, proved fruitless; she could not draw from him one consoling expression; and when they parted she knew not whether to consider him a friend or a foe. After supper they met again; but Murray assumed a still sterner tone. He loaded his afflicted sister with reproaches, bade her repent and be patient, and dropped some distant hints of the bar and the scaffold. It was an hour after midnight when he left her, with this ominous remark, that "she had nothing to hope for but God's mercy; let her seek that as her chief refuge." In the morning followed a third interview, in which the earl appeared a very differ-

\* Thus his confidential servant was instructed by him to say that he (Murray) "did not a little mislike that the lords were so far overshot as to keep "their mistress in durance, and that he would be her true servant in all fortunes."—Stevenson, 192. But to the Spanish ambassador the earl was more communicative, evidently because he wished to prepare the king of Spain for the step which he contemplated. "He felt exceedingly for the imprisonment of the queen, but had always anticipated evil from her connection with Bothwell. There was even then in existence a letter of three sheets of paper, written by her, with her own hand, to Bothwell, in which she urged him to put in execution the plan concerted between them for the death of Darnley, either by giving him a potion, or by burning him in his house. He had not, indeed, seen the letter, but he knew the fact from one who had read the original."—Gonzales, *Apuntamientos*, p. 75. This mention by Murray of Mary's supposed letter is important. It was afterwards sworn that the casket seized on the 20th of June contained eight letters, in Mary's hand, with sonnets, all corroborative of the guilt attributed to the queen; yet on the 30th of July Murray appears to have heard of no more than one letter, evidently the first in the series of eight. Again, that letter there made mention of plans to make away with Darnley, either by poison or setting fire to the house, "quemando la casa;" but when the letter was published not a syllable about the fire appeared in it. If the letters were fabrications, it would seem to follow that the form in which they were to be made public had not yet been finally settled.

ent man. He affected to feel pity for her misfortunes, and expressed a wish to screen her from the vengeance of her enemies. To the queen, who had passed a sleepless night in anguish and terror, his softened and consoling manner made him appear as an angel from heaven. She embraced him, kissed him, conjured him to assume the regency, that he might preserve her life and that of her son. To draw from her this request had been the sole object of his visit. He assented, after several refusals; but at parting bade her recollect that he was only one man; it was useless for him to ensure her safety, unless she deserved it. If she should attempt to escape, or should raise disturbance against the government, it would not be in his power to screen her from punishment\*.

From Lochlevin Murray proceeded to Stirling, to visit <sup>Aug.</sup> the young king, and thence returned to the capital. Three <sup>19.</sup> days later a general meeting of the lords and citizens was <sup>22.</sup> held at the Talbooth, in which the justice's clerk, having first read aloud the instrument by which Mary had conferred on the earl the regency during the minority of her son, required him officially in their names to enter on the execution of that office. Murray, with ill-dissembled humility, excused himself in a long disqualifying speech: he dared not impose on his shoulders a burthen to which he felt he was unequal. The justice clerk renewed the requisition; it was enforced by the cries and solicitations of all present; and it soon became visible that the earl was suffering, or pretending to suffer, a violent conflict within himself, and could not long withstand the voice of his country. At last he gave a tardy and reluctant assent, took the oath†, and was proclaimed regent at the High Cross. It was a farce which could blind none but the zealots of the party. Subsequently he seems to have forgotten it; and as often as he condescended to justify his assumption

\* Throckmorton's letter of the 20th of Aug., in Keith, 444—448. From whom Throckmorton received the account we know not. He tells the queen that Murray informed him that he had also required his sister to desist from her inordinate affection for Bothwell, and her resentment against the lords, 447.

† The oath was the same as had been taken at the coronation, and ended thus: "All these things above wrytten I faithfullie affirm with my solemnyt "ayth." He was then told to lay his hand upon the Bible with inclination of the body, and to sing the lxxii. psalm. Stevenson, 287.

of the office he was wont to allege that his consent had been wrung from him by the prayers and tears of Mary in her prison at Lochleven\*.

With respect to Bothwell, he had been suffered to retire without molestation from Carberry hill to his castle of Dunbar. Some days later, leaving the castle to the care of a trusty partisan, he traversed the west and north of Scotland to consult with the friends of Mary, by whom it was resolved that, instead of attempting her liberation by open force—which would only endanger her life from the malice of her enemies—Bothwell should proceed through Denmark to France, and solicit the advice and aid of the French monarch. The earl was preparing for his voyage in one of the Shetland isles, when a hostile squadron appeared under Kirkaldy and Aug. Tullibardine. He put to sea; his pursuers overtook him; but the engagement was interrupted by a sudden storm, which cast him on the coast of Norway. At first he was treated as a pirate; but on the discovery of certain papers, containing the patent creating him duke of Orkney, a letter from the queen, and the recent proclamation against him, he was sent to the court at Copenhagen. Frederic refused to see him; and the Dec. 20. castle of Malmoe in Schonen was appointed for his residence, or rather confinement. Thence he wrote to the 1568. king a vindication of his conduct, and afterwards made Jan. 5. to him, as envoy from Mary, an offer of the Orkneys and the Shetland isles, to be annexed to the crown of Denmark and Norway, in return for aid to be furnished to that 13. unfortunate princess. The offer was neglected, and the fugitive remained a prisoner in the fortress†.

To return to Mary, the reader will recollect that one of the avowed objects of the associated lords was to free

\* See especially his proclamation of August 22, "for obedience thairto, "he hes acceptid and ressavit the charge." Keith, 454. Mary had maintained liberty of conscience for all persons, as far as the fanaticism of the preachers would permit; but Murray entered on the regency by taking the following oath: "and out of this realme of Scotland and impyre thairof I "sall be cairful to ruite out all hereticks and enemies to the trew worship "of God, that sall be convict be the trew kirk of God of the forsaid crimes." Ibid. 423. † Bothwell's memorial. *Affairs du Comte*, Append. 539.

her from the thralldom of Bothwell: the moment she came into their hands, they immured her in a prison, and in a few days deprived her of her crown. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that they had offered to obey her as their sovereign, provided she would abandon Bothwell, and consent that he should suffer punishment as the chief murderer of Darnley \*. On her refusal they had placed her under confinement, with the hope that solitude and reflection would wean her from that guilty passion, which she had so long indulged: but her obstinacy seemed to increase; it endangered the safety of the prince, of the lords, and of the state; it reduced them to the painful necessity of depriving her of the sovereign authority, and of transferring it to her son. Mary replied that these were mere pretexts: she had offered to convene the three estates, to submit to them the two questions of the validity of her marriage and the punishment of the murderers, and to abide by their determination, whatever it might be. To such a proposal no reasonable man could object: but her adversaries had required her assent to demands the most unjust and unnatural. It could not be expected that a queen in her situation (she knew herself to be pregnant) should disown her husband, and by that act bastardize her child, and forfeit her honour, at the sole will of an armed faction†.

Murray, on his assumption of the regency, had informed Aug. the ambassador that the lords cared not for the censure 22. of foreign powers, nor would they condescend to vindicate

\* 'To punish the king's murder, *chiefly* in my lord Bothwell.' Laing, i. 104. This proposal was made to her by Maitland, an accomplice. It would seem that Bothwell was to be punished, and his accomplices were to escape.

† "She hath sent me word that she will rather dye, grounding herself upon thys reason, that takyng herself to be seven weekes gon with chylde, by renouncyng Bodwell she shoulde acknowledge her selfe to be with chylde of a bastarde, and to have forfayted her honoure, which she will not do, to dye for yt." Throckmorton, July 18. Stevenson, 221. Robertson, App. xxi. Prince Lalanoff states, on the authority of Le Laboureur, that Mary, a little before her escape from Lochleven, was delivered of a child, a daughter, who was privately conveyed to France, and afterwards became a nun in the convent of Notre Dame, in Soissons. Lettres de Marie, ii. 63, note.



their conduct: but some months later it was deemed advisable to throw off the mask. A silver casket, which Mary had inherited from her first husband Francis, and which she is said to have given to Bothwell, had in the month of June come into the possession of the earl Morton\*. In it, if we may believe him, were found several papers in the hand-writing of the queen, which proved her to have been an accomplice in the crime. The importance of the discovery was secretly communicated to the chiefs of the party, and to the queen of England†: but no particulars were divulged before the Dec. month of December, when a resolution was taken to accuse Mary of adultery and murder; to maintain that she had suffered herself to be seduced by Bothwell, and afterwards had consented to the death of her husband, that she might be able to marry her paramour; and to declare that her captivity and destitution were “in her own default; in so far as by divers her privy letters, written and subscribed with her own hand, and sent by her to James earl Bothwell, and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding in a private marriage, suddenly and improvisedly thereafter, it was most certain that she was privy, art and part, and of the actual devise and deed of the murder of the king her lawful husband.” This act of the council, but with Dec. 10. some alterations, was adopted by the parliament; and

\* There is something to excite suspicion in the history of this casket. It was said to have been taken on the person of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, on the 20th of June. On the 26th he was examined before Morton, Athol, the protector of Maitland, and two others. No question was asked, no mention was made of the casket. How are we to account for this silence? Does it not seem to follow that Morton was ignorant of the existence of the casket and its contents six days after that on which, if we believe his oath, they came into his possession? For undoubtedly, when a man was put to the torture to make him confess, every question was asked which could bear upon the charge. If, on the contrary, it be pretended that questions were asked, but that they and the answers returned to them were suppressed, is not such suppression a sufficient proof that, instead of confirming, they would have overturned the story told by Morton?

† The first notice which we have of these letters is from Throckmorton, who writes on the 25th of July, that they boast of being able to prove the queen guilty of the murder, by the testimony of her own hand-writing, as also by sufficient witnesses. Now letters to this purpose they afterwards produced, but not witnesses.

to it was added a second of forfeiture against Bothwell, enumerating, among his other offences, the violence which he had undutifully employed to compel his sovereign to marry him. It seems not to have occurred to the framers of these acts that they appear to stand in opposition to each other. If Mary's letters were genuine, if she was "swa blindlie affectionate to the private appetyte of that tyrane," neither her conveyance to Dunbar, nor her subsequent marriage, could have been the effect of compulsion, but must have proceeded from her own will and consent\*.

The Scottish queen was still confined in the towers of Lochleven, under the jealous eye of the lady Douglas, mother to the regent, and formerly mistress to James V.† It was in vain that, to recover her liberty, she made repeated offers to her brother and the council. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive; and, if we may believe her own assertion, had seriously listened to several proposals for the shortening of her days. But she possessed resources beyond the control of her enemies: and her beauty, her manner, and her misfortunes won for her an invaluable partisan in George Douglas, the brother of the regent. By previous concert with Beaton, a trusty servant of the queen, who lurked in the nearest villages, he introduced a laundress at an early hour into the bed-chamber of Mary, who exchanged 1568 clothes with the woman, and, carrying out a basket of Mar linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost 25. reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face, and a voice immediately exclaimed, "that is not the hand of a washerwoman." She was recognised, and conveyed back to Lochleven; George fled from the resentment of his relatives, and left the task of

\* See the two documents in Goodall, ii. 62—69. and on the variations between the act of council, and the act of parliament. note (A).

† Je suis guesier de si pres, que je n'ai loisir (d'escire), que durant leur diner, ou quand ils dorment, que je me resleve: car leurs filles couchent aveques moy. Lettres de Marie, ii. 69.

liberating the queen to an unsuspected associate, an orphan boy of the age of sixteen, known by the name of the little Douglas\*.

Mar. 2. Five weeks elapsed before the new confidant found an opportunity of making the attempt. One evening, while the lady Douglas sate with the whole household at supper, having adroitly drawn the keys from the table, he called the queen, and Kennedy, one of her maids, led them out of the castle, locked the door after them, and threw the keys into the lake. A boat had been prepared; the preconcerted signal was made: and George Douglas and Beaton received the fugitives on the beach. Mary slept that night at Niddry, a house belonging to Lord Seton; the next morning she rode in safety to the castle of Hamilton, and revoked the resignation of the crown which she made in her prison at Lochleven †.

- At this intelligence, the royalists crowded round their sovereign; nine earls, nine bishops, and eighteen lords
8. offered her their congratulations and services; and the queen became acquainted, for the first time according to her advocates, with the real history of the murder of Darnley, and of the guilt of Bothwell ‡. To her brother the regent, who chanced at that moment to be in Glasgow, she made repeated offers of settling every cause of dissension in a free parliament, and of delivering up to justice every person whom he should accuse of the murder, provided he would do the same by those whom she might also accuse §. Morton and Maitland were alarmed; they imprisoned her messengers, and proclaimed her adherents traitors. Mary was on her road
  13. to the castle of Dunbarton, when Murray, with a small but disciplined force, appeared on an eminence called Langsyde. At the sight her followers, consulting their loyalty rather than prudence, rode in confusion to

\* Drury's letter of 3rd of April, in Keith, 469.

† Anderson, iv. par. ii. 52. 87. Keith, 471. Jebb, ii. 230.

‡ Anderson, iv. par. ii. 82.

§ Ibid. iv. 31, 32.

charge the rebels: they were received with coolness and intrepidity; and, after a sharp contest, turned their backs and fled. From the field of battle, the disconsolate queen rode to the abbey of Dundrennan, in Gallo-way, a distance of sixty Scottish miles, in the course of the same day. Her adversaries followed in every direction: but she eluded their pursuit, resumed her flight the next evening, and on the following morning, after a hasty repast, expressed her determination to seek an asylum in the court of her good sister the queen of England. Her best friends remonstrated; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her on his knees to change her resolution: but Mary trusted to the advice of the French ambassador, and to the assurances which she had received; commissioned Beaton to take back to Elizabeth a diamond ring, the pledge which that princess had given her of affection and support; and, crossing the Solway-frith in a fishing-boat, landed May with twelve attendants in the harbour of Workington, 16. whence she proceeded through Cockermouth to Carlisle\*.

In Scotland, on the day after the action at Langsyde, 14. the regent published a long and artful proclamation in the name of the infant king. Having related the murder of his father, and the marriage of his mother, James was made to proceed thus: "In what state our innocent person then stood, the eternal God best knows; our father lately murdered, and our mother coupled with him that was the chief author of that mischievous

\* Anderson, iv. 333. Keith, 477—483. Jebb, ii. 263. *Memorias*, 329. Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, from Workington, says: *Je suis en pitieux estat non pour roync, mais pour gentillfame; car je n'ay chose du monde que ma persone comme je me suis sauvee.* Ellis, ii. 236. In consequence of this hint Elizabeth sent to her dos camisas ruines, dos pares di zapatos, y dos piezas di terciopelo negro. Despatch of Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador at Simancas. Mary herself, in a letter to the cardinal de Lorraine, says, *La Roynie de'ici m'a envoye ung peu de linge, et me fournit un plat.* Le reste je l'ay empruntay mais je n'en trouve plus. —Ibid. p. 117. To Catherine de Medicis. *Je n'ay pas un soul.* . . . . *Je n'ay seulement pas de quoy ascheter une chemise.* Ibid. p. 129.

“ deed. But divers of our nobility, to keep us from  
“ falling into the merciless hands of them whilks  
“ slew our father, to separate that Tyrane and godless  
“ man fra the queen our mother, and to put our person  
“ in safety, convened in the field aganis the said earl,  
“ whence he escaped, and our said mother refusing to  
“ leave the ungodly and dishonest company of the mur-  
“ derer, and minassing sic as had been careful of our  
“ preservation, she was put in surety, until further de-  
“ liberation. Shortly thereafter God manifested the  
“ murder more clearly; and not only the report of  
“ divers actually present thereat, and many other things  
“ gave presumption, but *writ* declared the truth. Al-  
“ ways the queene seeing how contrariously things suc-  
“ ceeded, and how evil her subjects liked of her regi-  
“ ment, demitted the crown in our favours, and we were  
“ lawfully inaugurate with the crown; and our dearest  
“ cousin James earl of Murray sworn and admitted in  
“ regent unto our age of xvii years. Which our coro-  
“ nation is by the acts of ane lawful free and plain par-  
“ liament declared to be rightly done, as much as if she,  
“ the time of the said coronation, had been departed  
“ forth of this mortal life: and in the same it was found  
“ that all things done on occasion of taking the queen  
“ our mother on the xv of June last bepast, and detain-  
“ ing her within the fortalice of Lochlevin sensyne, and  
“ in time coming, were done to our grief in her  
“ default. . . . Yet, certain men conspired her liberty,  
“ convoyed her to Hamilton, and induced her to at-  
“ tempt by force to bereave us of our crown; but God  
“ hath granted us the victory in the preservation of our  
“ innocent person, and the room and authority wherein  
“ he hath placed us. What womanly mercy was in the  
“ person of her that, alas, thought the shedding of Scot-  
“ tish blood a pleasant spectacle? What favour can  
“ men look for at her hands that stirs sedition against  
“ her only lawful son! What security can godly men  
“ expect, sche bearing regiment, by wha’s occasion our

"maist dear father, being a portion of her own flesh, was slain!" Wherefore he concludes with charging all the lieges, as they shall answer to Almighty God, and under the penalties of treason, to give no aid or countenance to his said mother, or to any conspirators acting under her orders, or in her favour\*.

During these transactions it was difficult for an ordinary observer to unravel the intricate policy of the English cabinet. Elizabeth had publicly professed herself the friend of the Scottish queen, declared to foreign princes that she would restore her to her throne, forbidden her ambassador to assist at the coronation of the prince, refused to Murray the title of regent, and demanded, in a tone of authority, the liberation of Mary. But, on the other hand, her ministers were intimately leagued with the enemies of that princess; they dissuaded their sovereign from appealing to arms, under the pretence that such an appeal would be the death-warrant of the royal captive; they imparted advice and information to Murray and his council; and they encouraged him in the persuasion that his proceedings were in reality approved by the English queen †.

But Mary's unexpected arrival in England opened new prospects to Cecil and his confidential friends in the council. They rejoiced that the prey, which they had hunted for years, had at last voluntarily thrown herself into the toils; but they were perplexed to reconcile their designs against the royal fugitive with the appearance of decency and justice. After repeated consultations, it was concluded, that to allow her to proceed to any foreign court, or to solicit aid of any foreign

\* Abridged from the original "imprentit be Robert Lekprenik, printer to the King's Majestie."

† "Although," says Murray to Cecil, "the queene's majestie, your mistress, outwardlie seem not altogether to allow the present state heir; yet doubt I not but her heines in hart lykis it well aneuch. I have had infallible experience of your gude will in especial." Haynes, 462.

prince, would be to risk all the advantages which had been obtained by the treaty of Leith; that, if it were advisable to replace the sceptre in her hands, it ought to be by the influence of Elizabeth alone, and under restrictions which would leave her only a nominal authority; but that to detain her in captivity for life would be the most conducive both to the security of their sovereign, and to the interests of their religion\*. The accomplishment of this object was intrusted to the dark and intriguing mind of Cecil. Mary was at first assured that Elizabeth would vindicate the common cause of sovereigns, and reinstate her in her former authority, upon condition that she would be satisfied with the aid of her good sister, and reject that of France or Spain, or any other power†. Next it was intimated to her that the English queen had determined to essay the influence of advice and authority, before she would have recourse to arms and bloodshed; lastly a hint was given that, in order to justify the interposition of Elizabeth, it was desirable that the Scottish queen should clear herself from the odious crimes with which she had been charged by her enemies.

Mary, immediately after her arrival, had demanded permission to visit Elizabeth, that she might lay before her the wrongs which she had suffered, and explain to her the deceit, the calumnies, and the crimes of her adversaries. But a personal interview might have proved dangerous, not only to Murray and his party, but to their friends in the English cabinet. Cecil suggested to his mistress, that, as a maiden queen, she could not in decency admit into her presence a woman

\* Anderson, iv. 34—44.

† The first message to Mary was to obtain from her a promise not to solicit or receive any aid from France: "which, if she will do, she shall then be assured that we will have the principal regard to her state, so as her subjects may be reduced to acknowledge their duties without shedding of blood, or trouble of her realm; and, if they will not yield to reason by treaty or persuasion, we will give to her such aid as shall be requisite to compel them." Instructions to Leighton, Anderson, iv. 27. Mary assented, but could never obtain the promised aid.

charged with adultery and murder. Let her first call on Mary to disprove the accusations of her opponents before a board of English commissioners. She had a right to require it; for history showed that the Scottish was subject to the English crown, and that all controversies between the people and the king or queen of Scotland ought to be decided in the court of their superior lord. She had now an opportunity of exercising that right; and it would prove dishonourable to her, if she omitted to avail herself of it\*. He found it more easy to persuade Elizabeth than Mary. The latter objected to everything in the shape of a trial. It would consume time, of which every moment was to her of importance; because delay served to consolidate the usurped authority of the regent, and, by disappointing the hopes, to diminish the number, of her adherents. Then from whom did the proposal originate? From one who had always proved her bitterest enemy. Who would name the commissioners, and superintend the proceedings? A party, that, from the beginning of her reign, had constantly given advice and support to her rebels. And who was to be her judge? She could acknowledge none. She was an independent queen, and would never submit to place the crown of Scotland at the foot of a foreign power. She therefore requested permission to return again into Scotland, or to pass through England to France. The demand was reasonable; but it accorded not with the views of the council, and was at first eluded, and afterwards refused†.

This crooked policy, which gradually extinguished all her hopes, wrung from Mary expostulations, writ-

\* Anderson, iv. 26. 37. 103. 105.

† Laing has converted Mary's objections to the proposed trial into so many proofs of her guilt. Undoubtedly, if she were conscious of guilt, she would object to a trial. But I think it evident, that, if she were innocent, she still had many reasons to refuse such an enquiry as was proposed.



ten with the dignity of a queen, and the spirit of an innocent and injured woman. She observed that, if she had come into England, it was in consequence of the assurances which she had received during her confinement in Lochleven; and that, if Elizabeth now repented of her promises, the least she could do was to allow the princess, whom she had deceived, to seek for aid in other courts. That the English queen had received into her presence the bastard Murray, notwithstanding all the crimes of which he had been guilty; and yet she refused to receive a queen and a relation, who felt and was ready to prove herself innocent. Her enemies were not to expect that she would answer their false accusations in prison: they were her subjects, not her equals; she would rather die in captivity than condescend to put herself on the same footing with them. But let Elizabeth restore her to liberty, and she would prove her innocence in the presence of her good sister, as her friend, but not as her judge. Let Morton and Maitland, the real contrivers of the murder of her husband, be sent for; it would give her pleasure to meet them face to face before the queen of England, and before the nobility of England, in Westminster hall. In a word, let Elizabeth remain neuter: she asked no more; her sister might, if she pleased, withhold the aid which at first she had promised; at least let her not furnish aid to the rebels who had driven their sovereign from her throne\*.

\* See the correspondence in Anderson, iv. 47—97; in Haynes, 465, 466, 469; in Ellis, ii. 231—251, and in *Lettres de Marie*, ii. 143—165. I observe that in these letters Mary continually declares herself innocent, and accuses Morton and Maitland of the murder of Darnley, and of falsely charging her with it. “Ils ont devisé et favorisé, et signé et assisté à un crime, pour le me mettre fausement à subs.” Anderson, iv. 30. “Withal she affirmed that both Lyddinton (Maitland) and the lord Morton were assenting to the murder of her husband, as it could well be proved.” Ibid. 54. “Desire my good sister, the queen, to write that Lithington and Morton (who be two of the wisest and most able of them “to say most against me) may come, and then let me be there, in her

These remonstrances produced but little effect. After June long consultation, it was resolved that Mary should not be received at court till her innocence had been fully established; that her request to leave the kingdom should not be granted; and that she should be transferred from Carlisle to Bolton castle, as a place presenting fewer opportunities of escape. At Carlisle she had been nominally free; at Bolton she found herself literally a prisoner; she therefore asked, and her few friends in the council asked, on what principle of justice she was detained in captivity. She was not the subject of Elizabeth. She had come into the kingdom at the express invitation of the queen; since her arrival she had transgressed no law, had committed no offence. It was answered, that she had formerly asserted a right to the crown, and, if she were set at liberty, might re-assert that right; that, a catholic herself, she could rely on the aid of all catholics at home and abroad; and that her succession to the throne, if it were ever effected, would prove the ruin of the protestant cause, both in England and Scotland\*. On these grounds her enemies persisted in requiring an investigation into her past conduct, with the hope of being able to disgrace her; and she persisted in the rejection of a proceeding which she deemed derogatory from her dignity, and injurious to her honour. At length the subtlety of Cecil suggested an expedient, which equally served his purpose,—an investigation, not into the conduct of Mary, but of her enemies; who, if they could justify their conduct to the satisfaction of certain English commissioners, should be allowed to retain their estates and honours; if not, should be abandoned to the justice or the mercy of their sovereign. If the

"presence, face to face, to hear their accusations, and to be heard how I can make my purgations; but I think Lithington would be very loth of that commission." Ibid. 90. "Estant innocente, comme Dieu mercy je me sents, ne me faites vous pas tort de me tenir icy." Ibid. 96. "Mon innocence et la fiance que j'ai en Dieu m'assurent." Haynes 465.

\* Anderson, iv. 102—106.

Scottish queen would approve of this proposal, a treaty might be negotiated, by which Elizabeth should undertake, on certain conditions, to reduce her subjects to obedience, and to replace her on the throne\*. Mary, contrary to the opinion of her best advisers, assented to this expedient. Murray dared not refuse; and the place of conference was fixed in the city of York.

- The commissioners to hear this important cause were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, privately favourable to Mary, and sir Ralph Sadler, the known confidant of Cecil. The queen of Scots was represented by Leslie, bishop of Ross, the lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, and three others. On the opposite part, Murray attended in person, with Morton, Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, and the abbot of Dumfermlin, aided
- Oct. 4. by Maitland and five other councillors. To adjust the preliminaries occupied several days. Mary insisted that the promise of the English queen to replace her on the throne should appear in the powers given to her commissioners; and Murray required a confirmation of the assurance, which he had already received, that the queen, if she were convicted of the charge, should never return to Scotland. These contradictory demands, which at once discovered the insincerity of the English cabinet, were ultimately granted\*; and the commissioners of the Scottish queen, as plaintiffs, opened the charges against Murray and his associates; that they had risen in arms against their sovereign, had traitorously confined her in Lochleven, and had, by intimidation, compelled her to resign her crown. It had been expected that Murray, in reply, would rest his justification

\* Anderson, iv. 109. Goodall, ii. 183. Haynes, 467.

† Anderson, iv. part ii. 25—41. Goodall, ii. 108—128. That Mary agreed to the conferences on the express condition of being restored to her throne at their termination is evident from Anderson, iv. 109. That a promise was given to Murray of the opposite tendency is also plain from Anderson, iv. part ii. 11.

on the part which it was pretended that Mary had acted in the murder of Darnley. But he sought to play a deeper and surer game. He waited on the English commissioners, and expressed his readiness to communicate to them, but in secret, and as to private individuals, the proofs of her guilt. They should recollect that the lives of himself and of his associates were at stake; that before they could appear as public accusers of their sovereign, they had a right to ascertain, whether their proofs would be considered sufficient to establish the charge; whether, if it were established, the judges would pronounce sentence; and whether security would be given, that after sentence Mary should never be restored to her throne. He then laid before them translations of eight letters, supposed to be written by her to Bothwell, some before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage, said to have been signed by them both, and a collection of amatory sonnets, described as composed by her, and sent to her paramour. No answer given by the commissioners would satisfy his fears; and, at his request, they wrote to Elizabeth for additional instructions\*.

That the cause of this delay might not be suspected, Murray now gave in a pretended answer to the charge. His friends, he said, had taken up arms, not against the queen, but Bothwell, by whom she was controlled; they had afterwards "sequestered" her, because she would not separate her cause from his; and had at last accepted, but not extorted, her resignation. To a plea so weak and unsatisfactory the commissioners of Mary opposed a most victorious reply†.

\* Anderson, iv. 41—63. Goodall, ii. 128—138. Robertson attributes these questions to Murray's knowledge of an intrigue of Maitland with the duke of Norfolk. But he had first put them in June, four months before, and received answers. Goodall, ii. 75. 89. Robertson, i. No. xxv.

† Anderson, 64—70. 80—91. Goodall, 139—148. 162—170. They afterwards acknowledged that this was a fictitious plea, because they dared

In the mean time, York had become the scene of active and intricate negotiation. The Scots were divided into two parties, called the king's lords, and the queen's lords, at the head of which were the earl of Murray, on one side, and the duke of Chastelherault, lately returned from France, on the other. Both of these earnestly desired a compromise. Murray knew that his charge against Mary would be met with a similar charge against his associates, and that her proofs were better able to bear investigation than his\*. Should he fail, he would be left without resource to the vengeance of the sovereign; should he succeed, yet the sickly state of the infant king made it probable that, in a short time, his mortal enemy, the duke, would come to the throne. Hence he was willing to give up his proofs against Mary, to pronounce her innocent by act of parliament, and to allow her a considerable revenue from Scotland, provided she would either confirm her resignation of the crown, or, retaining the name of queen, consent to reside in England, and leave to him the title and the authority of regent. The duke, the next heir after the infant James, feared, on the contrary, the intrigues of Murray, and the hostile pretensions of the house of Lennox. He demanded that the queen should be restored to the crown; but was willing that the prince should be educated under the care of Elizabeth, and that the government should be conducted by a council of noblemen, in which every man should have that place which became his rank. "These parties," says the earl of Sussex, "toss between

not put in their real answer. Yet they had solemnly sworn "to proceed sincerely and uprightly; and for no affection, malice, or worldly respect, "to advance anything otherwise than their own consciences should bear "them witness before God, to be honest, godly, reasonable, just, and true." Anderson, 39.

\* This, a most important fact in the controversy respecting the authenticity of the letters, is expressly asserted by one who was able to judge, the earl of Sussex. "Yf her adverse partee accuse hir of the murther by producing of her letters, she wyll deny them, and accuse the moste of them "of manyfeste consent to the murther, hardely to be denyed: so as, upon "the tryall on bothe sydes, her proofes wyll judycially falle beste owte. as "yt is thought." Lodge, ii. 1, 2.

"them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care  
"neither for the mother nor the child (as I think before  
"God), but to serve their own turns\*."

To prevail on Mary to accede to his terms, Murray employed the artful and intriguing Maitland. That statesman had already informed her, as a friend, of the charge to be brought against her, had secretly sent her copies of the supposed documents in a Scottish translation, and had exhorted her to adopt a compromise as the only expedient to preserve her honour\*. To the duke of Norfolk he suggested, in the name of the regent, a marriage with the Scottish queen; assured him in private of her innocence, and intimated that a speedy termination of all differences could alone prevent the English ministers from publishing the defamatory documents†. Lastly, he attempted to persuade the bishop of Ross, that, if Mary would confirm her resignation made in Lochleven, and marry the duke of Norfolk, the queen of England would replace her on the throne‡.

These proceedings suggested to the fertile mind of Cecil the adoption of a new expedient, but an expedient so strange and unsatisfactory, that it provoked in those, who were merely lookers on, a suspicion that no favour was meant to be shown, no justice to be done, to the Scottish queen. Now that he was fully acquainted with the state of the conferences at York, the reluctance of the regent to bring forward the charge, the presumed insufficiency of his proofs, the project of marriage between Norfolk and Mary, and the multiplied intrigues

\* See his very interesting letter from York, Oct. 22. Lodge, ii. 1, 2. Also another from Knollys, Robertson, i. No. 16. The duke of Norfolk also asserts the same. "Some seke hollye to sarve ther owne partycular turnes, "the wytche beying done, they care not what becomes nether of queene nor "kynges." Goodall, ii. 157.

† Murdin, 52, 53. He assured Mary that he would not have come to York had it not been to do her service. Ibid. Yet the whole of his conduct tended to produce that which we learn from Sussex Murray wished to effect. Hence I have no doubt that his suggestions to her were made with the privacy of the regent.

‡ Ibid. 164. See also State Trials, i. 92, 93, 94, where Norfolk, Murray and Ross, charge each other with the first proposal.

§ Robertson, i. App. xxvi. Murdin, 53.

Oct. of Maitland, he induced the council, instead of return-  
 16. ing a direct answer, to reply that the questions of Murray contained several points which could not be elucidated by letter, and to require that two commissioners from each party, with sir Ralph Sadler, should hasten to the court, to give to the queen the necessary information.

Oct. Mary, though she felt surprise at this unexpected de-  
 20. mand, expressed her satisfaction that the cognizance of her cause would at length come before Elizabeth herself. Murray, who was in the secret, signified his acquiescence, and at the same time solicited permission to attend the commissioners in person\*.

30. On their arrival a council was held at Hampton Court, in which it was resolved—1°. that, to take from Mary's commissioners all pretext of evading the defence of their mistress, the queen should previously, if it were possible, draw from them in conversation an avowal of the full extent of their powers ; 2°. that Murray's commissioners, as an inducement, should receive an assurance of impunity, if they could prove, to the satisfaction of the queen and her council, that Mary had been guilty of the murder of her husband ; 3°. that, to prevent the escape of the Scottish queen to the borders, she should be removed from Bolton to Tutbury† ; and lastly, that, on account of the importance of the investigation, the attendance of all the privy councillors should be required, and in addition, of the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Sussex, and Huntingdon, so that the first estate of the English nobility might be consulted. Norfolk and Suffolk were accord-

\* Anderson, ii. 93—96. Goodall, ii. 170—179. Murdin, 766. Mary gave new instructions to her commissioners the next day: in which she says, that if any subject be brought forward, not comprised in their former instructions, they are not to answer till they know her mind ; as they cannot confer with her now as they did during the conferences at York. Ibid. 350. I think this is not fairly stated by Laing, i. 580.

† At this time Elizabeth told Shrewsbury that "er it were longe he shuld well perseve that she dyd so trust hym, as she dyd few." His suspicion of her meaning was soon realised ; for on Dec. 13th he writes : "now it is sarten the Scotis quene comes to Tutbury to my charge." Hunter's Hallamshire, 64.

ingly recalled from York; Murray received permission to follow them to London, and a new commission was issued, comprising, in addition to the three former members, the lord keeper Bacon, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, the lord Clinton, and secretary Cecil\*.

But this artful scheme, whatever might be its ulterior object, was defeated by the foresight of Mary. At first she seems to have cherished the most flattering expectations: but when she learned that Murray had proceeded to London, and that, in violation of the royal promise†, he had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, her former disquietude revived: she saw the existence of a dark and mysterious plot devised for her ruin; and she ordered her commissioners to require of the queen, in the presence of the nobility and foreign ambassadors, that she might be confronted with her accusers before them all; and, if so equitable a request were refused, to declare that their powers were withdrawn, and to demand their passports‡. The sequel proved that her suspicions were well founded. Murray received favourable answers to the questions which he had proposed at York, that judgment should be pronounced; that the Scottish queen should not be restored to authority, and that all his acts should be allowed§. Thus encouraged, he brought forward his charge, that Mary had been “of fore-knowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended to cause the innocent prince to follow his father, and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant.”

\* Goodall, ii. 179—182. 189.

† Ibid. 184. 215.

‡ “He being ressavit and welcomet unto hir, and we, an free princess, not having access to answer for our selves, as he and his complices, thinks, therfoir, ye can proceed na farther in this conference; for ther may be some heids proponit quhairto you can not answer of your selfis, unless we were there in proper persoun, to give answer to the callumnes quhilk may come in question aganis us, swa that partiality apperis to be usit manifestly.” Goodall, ii. 185.

§ Goodall, ii. 200.



Dec. Mary's commissioners immediately requested an au-

1. audience of the queen, and demanded, that as Murray and his associates had been admitted into her presence to accuse their sovereign, she might also be admitted into the same presence to prove her innocence; and that in the mean time her accusers might be detained in the
3. country, to receive, at the close of the inquiry, that punishment which they would be found to deserve. Elizabeth coldly replied, that it was a subject which required long and mutual deliberation.

It was in vain that the bishop of Ross and his colleagues made every effort to obtain an answer. They applied to the council; they petitioned the queen; they protested against the proceedings; and, by the advice of the duke of Chastelherault, and of the French and Spanish ambassadors, declared that the conference was

- 6 at an end\*. But Cecil would not allow of this proceeding: he was anxious to procure in due form the proofs of the accusers before the interruption of the conference; and, in defiance of every remonstrance, refused to receive their protest and declaration. Murray employed the interval to lay before the commissioners the letters, contracts, and sonnets, which had been secretly exhibited at York, accompanied with the depositions of several witnesses, and with such other papers as he deemed confirmatory of the charge†. By Leicester, Cecil Sadler, and Bacon, they were deemed satisfactory; the latter even went so far as to assert that, as long as the

\* Goodall, ii. 206. 226. Fénelon, the French ambassador, did not arrive before Nov. 10. He blamed the advisers of Mary for consenting to the conference at all. They had placed, he said, her reputation, her crown, perhaps her life, at the mercy of her enemies, and were bound to put an end to the proceedings immediately, par recusations, ou par autres moyens déclinatoires. *Dépêches de Fénelon*, i. 23.

† Cecil would not receive the protest of Mary's commissioners on the 6th, under pretence that it gave an incorrect statement of the queen's answer. Whilst they amended it, Murray presented the documents, and, when the protest was again presented, Cecil insisted on its bearing the date of the last, not of the first presentation. They, aware of his object, refused, and the document now appears with both dates. See Goodall ii. 226, 239.

Scottish queen was suffered to live, there could be no security for the life of Elizabeth. But the interests of Mary were supported by Norfolk, Arundel, Sussex, and Clinton\*; and the doctors of canon and civil law, to whom her several demands had been submitted, decided that her claim of being personally heard in her own defence was reasonable, and ought, in justice to be granted†. At last it was resolved to proceed in the following manner. The six earls, not councillors, were called into the council-chamber, and a brief, probably a partial, statement was made to them, under the injunction of secrecy, of the proceedings in the conferences at York and Westminster. Then the papers already furnished by Murray were read in their hearing: and the supposed originals were laid on the table, accompanied, for the purpose of comparison, with autograph letters from Mary to the queen. What impression was made on the minds of these six noblemen, we know not. The investigation lasted two days; and in conclusion, instead of being called upon to pronounce an opinion on the authenticity of the documents, or the guilt of the accused, they were informed that the queen thought it "not unmeet" to return the following answer to the demands of Mary; that, as hitherto she could not, without the blemish of her honour, admit Mary into her presence, whilst she was charged only by common fame, so much less could she do it now, that such strong evidence of guilt had been produced against her. The earls, having dutifully expressed their approbation of this answer, were dismissed, and the next morning the queen, sending for Mary's commissioners, acquainted them with the resolution which she had taken, stating, at the same time, that, under the existing circumstances,

Dec.

14.

15.

16.

\* *Memorias*, vii 330, and despatches at Simancas. Fénelon says, that the duke and the earl of Arundel, besides their defence of Mary at the conference, represented to Elizabeth, "qu'en laissant opprimer cette princesse à ses subjects, elle préparoit contre elle ung mauvais exemple aux siens." p. 79.

† The case and answer may be seen in Fénelon, i. 51—54.

it was incumbent on the Scottish queen to make her defence in writing or by deputy; otherwise, her silence would be taken for an acknowledgment of guilt\*.

- Such is the official account of the proceedings: but the record has descended to us in a very suspicious shape, altered and interlined by the hand of Cecil. It is plain that he had been disappointed in his views; and that the earls had betrayed some distrust of the proofs, or made some objection to the manner of proceeding†. The conferences were immediately suspended, and a new intrigue set on foot. As Mary was now aware that the publication or concealment of papers so prejudicial to her honour depended on the pleasure of the English queen, it was hoped that with this knowledge she might be induced to resign her crown, or at least to be content with the title of queen, while the authority should remain with the regent. Knollys received orders to
22. suggest and urge to her the adoption of this scheme, but as proceeding from himself, and without authority; and the commissioners were detained at London, that by the advice of pretended friends they might be drawn
19. into the same sentiments. But the resolution of Mary disconcerted her adversaries. She had no sooner received the refusal to admit her into the royal presence, than she ordered her commissioners to declare to the queen and council that, "where Murray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the

\* Ibid. 254—264. A letter containing the same answer was written by Elizabeth—or rather for her by Cecil—to Mary, and may be seen in Anderson, iv. 183. Goodall, ii. 269, and Wright, i. 302. But Mary had taken her resolution before it was written; for her instructions to her commissioners are dated on December 19, the letter from Elizabeth on December 21.

† According to the Spanish ambassador, in a letter to Philip, they had displayed some spirit, and checked a little the violence with which Cecil sought the destruction of Mary; "dichos señores havian mostrado algun valor, y contrastado un poco la furia terrible, con que el secretario "Cecil queria perder aquella señora." Despatch of Jan. 1, 1569. MSS. at Simancas.

"crime of which they themselves were the authors, "inventors, doers, and some of them the very executioners;" that, where they alleged that she had intended to make her son follow his father, "the natural love which a mother bears to her only bairn," was sufficient to prove their falsehood, their attempt to have slain him in the womb sufficient to show their hypocrisy; that she could not allow charges so calumnious to be passed over in silence, but demanded that copies of the papers should be given to her commissioners, and the originals submitted to her own inspection; and pledged her word to name certain individuals among her accusers; and to convict them of the murder, provided she might have access to the presence of the queen, and a reasonable time to collect her witnesses and proofs\*.

This unexpected declaration perplexed Elizabeth and the secretary: but the Christmas holidays allowed them a respite of a fortnight; and they waited with impatience for the result of the negociation at Bolton †. On the seventh of January the bishop of Ross solicited an audience of the queen. He had received a new order from his sovereign to demand copies of the documents, that she might answer them in every particular, and prove to the whole world that her accusers were "liars" as well as traitors. Elizabeth replied that she would take time to consider the demand, but thought it best

\* Goodall, ii. 274—293. *Lettres de Marie*, ii. 257. 262. Elizabeth was already informed that the persons whom she chiefly meant to accuse were Morton and Maitland. Goodall, ii. 71. Mary, in her instructions to her commissioners, declares that she never wrote such letters to any living creature; that, if any such exist, they are feigned and forged by her accusers. See, on the authenticity of the letters, note (A).

† On Jan. 3, Cecil informs Norris, that matters are at a stand, "because, for the saving of her honour, motion is made on her behalf to make some appointment between her and her subjects; nevertheless, outwardly she offereth to prove herself innocent, so she may be permitted to come to the queen's presence, and answer for herself, which is thought to be the more earnestly required, because it is also thought assured it will be denied;"—what will be the end he cannot guess. *Cab. 157.* It should be recollected, that Cecil's advertisements to ambassadors are not always to be credited; they merely show the manner in which his master's transactions to be represented in foreign courts.

for Mary to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that such advice could not be admitted; the queen had authorized him to declare that she would never consent to it upon any conditions which were or could be proposed; but was willing to extend her clemency towards her disobedient subjects, as far as might stand with her honour and the common weal of her kingdom. He was desired to confer with the lords of the council; but persisted in the same refusal\*.

- The bold and triumphant tone now assumed by the Scottish queen appears to have alarmed her adversaries. It was resolved to put an end to the conferences.
- Jan. Murray and his associates were first licensed to depart,  
 10. with a declaration that, as nothing had been proved against them to impair their honour, so they had shown no sufficient cause why Elizabeth "should conceive or  
 "take any evil opinion against the queen her good  
 13. "sister †." Ross and his colleagues were next called, and received an assurance that copies of the papers should be sent to Mary, whenever she would pledge herself to give to them a satisfactory answer. They replied that such delay was unnecessary, as Mary had already given that pledge on two occasions, by writings under her own seal and signature; that, if her accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, the same indulgence ought to be extended to her; and that, if it were intended to detain her a captive in England, they took the present opportunity to protest in her name against

\* Goodall, ii. 297 et seqq. Quant à la demission de ma couronne, je vous prie de ne me plus empescher: car je suis resolvée et deliberée plus tost mourir, que de faire; et la dernière parole que je ferons en ma vie sera d'une royne d'Ecosse. Ibid. 301.

† Mary's register, apud Goodall, ii. 315. Yet in the instructions sent to Norris in the autumn following, Elizabeth is made to say, that "the circumstances produced to argue her guilty were such as we wished that she" "and her commissioners had been otherwise advised than to have entered" "so boldly into the treaty thereof."—Raumer, iii. 165. A fair sample of the ease with which Cecil could give to falsehood the colouring of truth. He it was who had employed every artifice to draw them into that treaty; and who, when he found her determined to go through with it, broke off the conferences altogether.

the validity of any act which should be performed by her while she remained under restraint\*.

During the conferences at York, Mary had maintained a decided superiority: it has been contended, that in those at Westminster she yielded the advantage to her adversaries, by refusing to plead, unless it were in the presence of the queen. Her demand has been represented as the evasion of a guilty conscience, a pitiful expedient to avoid a trial from which she could anticipate nothing but conviction. To me such reasoning appears inconclusive. The claim of Mary was reasonable and just: she was not placed on an equal footing with her accusers; while they were present to produce their proofs she was confined at a distance of more than two hundred miles, when she had to refute them; and the refusal of her request would naturally suggest a suspicion, that her English sister sought not the discovery of the truth, but the condemnation of her captive. The triumph of Murray was however of short duration, and the subsequent conduct of the Scottish queen shows, that the threat of interrupting the conferences was held out only as an inducement to Elizabeth to grant her demand. On the very day on which she received the refusal, she wrote to her commissioners, that she could not suffer the slander of Murray to pass unnoticed, and ordered them to resume the conferences by denying the charge, as far as regarded herself, and retorting it upon her accusers. From that moment she resumed the ascendancy. In proportion as she urged the prosecution of the inquiry, Murray shrunk from it. Even Elizabeth condescended to solicit a compromise. But it was then too late. Mary would submit to no conditions, till her innocence was established; and the last resource of her enemies was to send back the regent

\* Goodall, ii. 285, 288, 298, 305—315. Ross says, that from the time that Mary accused Murray and his associates, they became "earnest suitors to have licence to return to Scotland without farther trial, which was granted unto them, but upon what conditions, colour, and devises, God and their own conscience can witness." Anderson, iii. 33.

with his originals to Scotland, and to lock up the copies from the inspection of Mary and her commissioners. The victory was undoubtedly hers. It was claimed by her friends; and it appears to have been acknowledged by the chief of the English nobility, who had witnessed the whole of the proceedings.\*

The duke of Norfolk, on his return from the conferences at York, had met with a very ungracious reception from Elizabeth. Aware of the cause, he assured her that the project of a marriage between himself and Mary had not originated from him; that he had never given, nor would ever give, to it any encouragement. "But "would you not," said she, "marry the Scottish queen, if you knew that it would tend to the tranquillity of the realm, and the safety of my person?" "Madam," replied the duke, "that woman shall never be my wife, who has been your competitor, and whose husband "cannot sleep in security on his pillow." This sarcastic allusion, while it gratified the malice, lulled the suspicion of Elizabeth†. But Murray, before his departure, was careful to revive the former intrigue. He sent Robert Melville to Mary, and waited in person on the duke. To both he made the same observation: that the only expedient to secure the tranquillity of both realms, was the marriage of the Scottish queen with a protestant nobleman, and that no nobleman was so likely to win the approbation of all parties as the duke of Norfolk. The duke replied, that he could not resolve a question of such importance, till he had ascertained the will of his sovereign; Mary, that she would give no answer while she remained a captive. Let him restore

\* Ross, apud Anderson, i. 80. iii. 58. When Cecil saw this passage, he wrote to Norris: "In this book a notable lie is uttered, that all the noble-men that heard her cause did judge her innocent, and therefore made suite to her majesty, that she might marry with my lord of Norfolk." (Cabala, 174.) The last is not asserted by Ross: the first is, and that they wished her well to marry the duke. I suspect that the bishop is correct, from the conduct of Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester.

† Haynes, 574. Murdin, 51. 180. Howell's state trials, i. 988. Anderson, iii. 36. 41.

her to her authority, she would then listen to his advice, and prove herself a forgiving and indulgent sister.

There is reason to believe that Murray, on this occasion, acted with his accustomed duplicity. He was aware that the Scottish friends of Mary had assembled on the borders to oppose his return; and that the Nortons, Markenfields, and other northern families in England, had associated to intercept him on his road through Yorkshire. He had, in reality, no inclination to support a measure which would remove him from the regency: but he sought to elude the snares of his Jan. enemies; and, by this message, procured from the cre- 23. dularity of his sister an order to her friends to offer no violence to him during his journey\*.

The Scottish queen was already at Rippon, on her Feb. way to Tutbury; and from Tutbury, after a short stay, 2. was removed to Wynfield, being all the time in the April 22. custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The foreign powers complained of the confinement of a crowned head: but, in answer to their remonstrances, Elizabeth boasted of her indulgence to Mary, in putting an end to the investigation, and suppressing documents, which would otherwise render her the execration of her contemporaries, and immortalize her infamy with posterity †.

It was through his influence over the mind of Elizabeth that Cecil had been able to triumph over the Scottish queen; the same influence now gave him the victory over his enemies in the council. The duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke had long borne with impatience the authority which he assumed in the administration: but they dared not oppose him openly, till they had brought over to their party the queen's favourite, the earl of Leicester; then they gave manifest indications of discontent by absenting Feb. themselves on frivolous pretexts from the meetings of

\* Murdin, 51. 54. State Trials, i. 982.

† Digges, 14. Raumer, iii. 169.



the council; and, when Elizabeth inquired the reason, Leicester ventured to inform her that men generally disapproved of the policy of Cecil, who, by inducing her to support the rebellious subjects of other princes, led to the adoption of measures injurious to her reputation, dangerous to her crown, and prejudicial to the interests of the nation. The queen undertook his defence with warmth and obstinacy; but Cecil himself deemed it prudent to bend a while to the storm, and sought to disarm the hostility of his opponents by a show of deference to the opinion of his colleagues in the council, and by confining himself to his own department of secretary\*.

Still, however, they indulged the hope of removing him from the government. They reckoned on the aid of the ancient nobility, by whom the elevation of Cecil and his friends was considered as the depression of themselves; of the catholics, who looked upon him as their bitterest enemy; of the friends of Mary Stuart, by whom her long captivity was attributed to his counsels; and of the whole body of merchants, smarting under the loss of their goods seized at the depôts of Rouen and Antwerp by the kings of France and Spain, who had been provoked to this measure of retaliation by injuries inflicted with his license, or under his connivance. With such support they might in time have subdued the reluctance of the queen, had they not struck on that fatal rock, the marriage of Mary with the duke of Norfolk. It was indeed an expedient, which, in the estimation of many, offered the most promising remedy for the evils anticipated from the claim of the Scottish queen and her union with some foreign prince: but to Elizabeth herself it appeared little less than a traitorous attempt to deprive her of the crown. By the ambition of the duke it was secretly coveted: but he remembered his promise, and feared the

\* Fénelon, i. 204. 233. 235. 258. 334. 414.

resentment of his sovereign, when the subtle Throckmorton came to his aid, and persuaded Leicester to break the matter to the duke, as if it had originated with himself\*. By Norfolk the suggestion was received with apparent dislike: he proposed, in his place, first Leicester himself; then his own brother, the lord Henry; and at last suffered his consent to be extorted from him. A meeting was subsequently held with the bishop of Ross, the agent of Mary, and Wood, the envoy of Murray; and a common letter was written to the Scottish queen in the names of Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester. They proposed that she should be restored to her throne, and receive a confirmation of her claim to the succession in England, on the following conditions: that she should never impugn the right of Elizabeth, or of the heirs of her body; should conclude a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, with England; should allow the English reform to be established in Scotland; should receive her disobedient subjects to favour; should procure from the duke of Anjou a renunciation of all claims which she might have ceded to him; and, lastly, should consent to a marriage with the duke of Norfolk. On the five first June points her answer was satisfactory: with respect to the 1.

\* It has been supposed that Leicester was induced to act thus through the hope of marrying Elizabeth, if Norfolk were to marry Mary. But it was now more than twelve months since he had abandoned that project. We learn, however, from a secret despatch of Fénélon, that, soon after the breaking off of the match with the archduke Charles, Norfolk told Leicester, as a friend, that, if matters were so far advanced between him and the queen, that he was sure of marrying her, he should own it, and behave in a proper and decent manner, in which case the duke would aid him to the best of his power; but, if it were otherwise, he should put an end to his great familiarity with her, and be content with the high offices which he held, without aspiring to the honour of the crown, or injuring the honour of his sovereign. "Et le taxa de ce qu'avant l'entrée, comme il a, dans la chambre de la royne, lorsqu'elle est au lit, il s'estoit ingéré de luy bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d'honneur, et de s'azarder de luy mesme de la bayser, sans y estre convyé." Leicester thanked him for the offer of his support, and said that the queen had indeed given him so much encouragement that he had occasionally taken trifling liberties with her; but that he should in a short time know her final determination, and would then follow his advice. Soon afterwards the queen gave him a decided denial: "from which et d'aulecuns propos qu'elle a tenuz touchant d'aultres grandz partis. et pour une forme de vivre à quoy elle s'est adonnée, les grandz de ce royaume tiennent pour chose résolue qu'elle ne prendra jamais mary." Fénélon, ii. 120—2.

last, she replied, that woeful experience had taught her to prefer a single life; but she was willing to sacrifice her own feelings to their superior judgment: one thing only she required, that they should previously obtain the consent of Elizabeth; for the displeasure of her English sister at her marriage with Darnley had been the origin of all her subsequent misfortunes \*.

When the liberation of the Scottish queen was discussed in the English cabinet, the four lords proposed the five first articles: but they suppressed all notice of the marriage, till Maitland, who was to disclose the project to Elizabeth, should arrive from Scotland. The plan was approved; and the lords Boyd and Wood were despatched, May  
14 the former to procure the consent of the Scottish royalists, the latter that of the regent and his party. Norfolk immediately opened a secret correspondence with Mary, through the agency of the bishop of Ross. He persuaded himself that the English queen was still ignorant of the whole proceeding: but the fidelity of Leicester is rather doubtful, and of Wood, it is certain that he had betrayed the secret before his departure †.

The intrigue was now rapidly hastening to a crisis. Bothwell, by a formal instrument, had signified from

\* Camden, i. 186. Anderson, iii. 50—52. Haynes, 535. 542. 545. Wright, i. 326. It is worthy of remark, that Fénelon, in his despatches, divides the council and the nation into two great parties, "the catholics" and "the protestants." Under the name of "the catholics," he constantly includes all the opponents of Cecil and his supporters "the protestants," of which opponents, not only a great portion, but most of the leaders, Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and others, were protestants. These names, therefore, with him designate, not religious belief, but political parties. He moreover attributes to "the catholics" not only a constant opposition to the severe measures against the professors of the old religion, advised by Cecil and his friends, but also a fixed design of restoring the ancient worship, excepting however the earl of Leicester, from whose knowledge it was withheld. Now, though this may be true of the real catholics of the party, it cannot be true of Norfolk and other real protestants. The case I take to be this. He came with orders to consult the bishop of Ross; and that wily agent found it convenient to give him such information, because it was through him that he hoped to obtain the requisite consent of the king and queen-mother of France, and of Mary's relations of the house of Guise, to the marriage of that princess with the protestant duke of Norfolk. A few years later we shall find him employing again the same deception.

† Anderson, iii. 50—55. Hardwicke papers, i. 189—194.

Denmark his consent to a divorce, to be pronounced by any competent tribunal; Mary had accepted the proposal, and Norfolk had engaged himself to Mary so far, that, to use his own expression, he could not recede in conscience, though he would not advance a step further, till Murray had removed certain impediments out of his way\*. The approbation of the kings of France and Spain had been asked through their ambassadors, and certificates received that Mary had never ceded any of her rights to the duke of Anjou; Cecil, to whom the matter was opened by Norfolk himself, though he would not promote, engaged not to oppose the project; and the consent had been obtained of the principal nobility, though some expressed an apprehension that the duke would fall a victim to his credulity. Nothing remained but that the regent should approve the articles, and that Maitland should open the subject to Elizabeth. Much repugnance was anticipated on her part: but that, it was thought, might be subdued by the consentient efforts of her council and nobility†.

Murray assembled the Scottish parliament, and, while he affected to speak in favour of the liberation of Mary, employed all his influence to prevent it. The articles devised by the English council were rejected; even a motion to appoint judges, who might examine the validity of the queen's marriage with Bothwell was negatived. Maitland saw the perfidy of the regent: as soon as his favourite plan was defeated, he began to fear for his own safety, and sought an asylum amongst the clansmen of his friend the earl of Athol‡.

An envoy, with the narrative of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, found Elizabeth at Farnham, July 13.

\* Haynes, 520. The duke intrusted his secret, that they had mutually consented, to the French ambassador. (Fénélon, ii. 194.) But no contract was signed and deposited with him, as has been supposed.

† Haynes, 549. Anderson, iii. 62, 63. Camden, i. 187.

‡ Anderson, iii. 71. Cabala, 135, 136. Fénélon, ii. 204. On this the duke remarked: "he (Murray) hathe a new marke in hys eye, no less than 'a kyngdom; God send hyme suche luke as others have hade, that hath followyd his cowrse.'" Haynes, 522.

and it was immediately whispered among the ladies at court that Mary and Norfolk were secretly contracted to each other\*. Though Leicester was urged, though he promised to represent the whole matter to the queen, he delayed. Elizabeth invited the duke to dinner; and, as she rose from table, advised him to beware on what pillow he should rest his head. This ominous allusion alarmed him and his friends: Leicester again promised, and again delayed; and the court proceeded to Tichfield, where Elizabeth was informed that her favourite was confined to his bed by a sudden and dangerous indisposition. She hastened to visit him; and received from him, as she sat by his bed-side, a confession, interrupted with sighs and tears, of his ingratitude and disloyalty, in having, without her knowledge, attempted to marry her rival to one of her subjects†.

Leicester was soon forgiven by the love-sick queen, and immediately recovered‡: Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden on his allegiance ever more to entertain the project. He assented with an appearance of cheerfulness: but soon observed that, whenever he came into the royal presence, Elizabeth met his eye with looks of disdain and anger, that the courtiers avoided his company, and that Leicester treated him in Sept. public as an enemy§. He retired from court; as did  
 15. also the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The duke had promised to return within a week. He proceeded to London, and from London to Kenninghall, in Norfolk: thence he wrote to the queen, attributing his absence to the fear of her displeasure, which had been  
 24.

\* Murray informed the queen that the Scots would not consent to the restitution of Mary in any manner. Elizabeth was displeased, for she began to wish her out of the realm, upon conditions to avoid peril. Norfolk's marriage with her might succeed, if Elizabeth would approve, says Cecil, "but I wish myself as free from the consideration thereof, as I have been from the intelligence of the devising thereof." Cabala, 169.

† Camden, i. 188. Haynes, 546.

‡ He was ill three days. Fénelon, ii. 230. Sept. 14.

§ When the queen first spoke to Norfolk on this occasion, he begged to be excused till she had consulted the council: she answered, that on such a point elle n'avoit que faire de l'adviz de son conseil. 7d. ii. 236.

kindled against him by the artful suggestions of his enemies, and a well-founded apprehension that, if he made any stay in London, he would be thrown into prison. This apology served only to confirm Elizabeth in her belief of his disloyalty. She sent to him a peremptory order to return without delay: the earl of Huntingdon was joined in commission with the earl of Shrewsbury, and viscount Hereford instructed to attend on them with an armed force, for the more secure custody of the Scottish queen; her apartments and cabinets were searched, but without effect, for the discovery of her correspondence, and in particular of a letter written to her by the earls of Leicester and Pembroke; and a determination was taken (so we are assured) to put her to death the moment that the duke should venture, as it was expected that he would, to draw the sword in her favour\*.

The friends of Mary afterwards charged that unfortunate nobleman with want of spirit on this occasion. They were persuaded that, if he had stayed a few days longer at Kenninghall, he would have been joined by all the ancient nobility of the realm; and that Elizabeth, alarmed at so powerful an association, would have consented to the release of her captive†. But, if Norfolk ever indulged such thoughts, he quickly abandoned them on the receipt of the royal message; and, whether it was through consciousness of innocence, or fear for his own safety or that of Mary, he resolved, in opposition to the advice of his friends, to obey. Unfortunately, in the mean time the Scottish regent Murray, having in vain tampered with Maitland‡, whom he had imprisoned as one of the murderers of Darnley, to become the accuser of the duke, acted the traitor himself, send-

\* Camden, 189. Haynes, 521. 3. 5. 7. 9. 532. Cædala, 168. Fénélon, 11. 246. 8. 252. 6. 9. 269—274. 273.

† Murdin, 97. 126. Memorias, 343.

‡ Laing, ii. 295—318. "He has flatly denied to me to be in any sort the accuser of the duke of Norfolk." Murray to Cecil, apud Chalmers, ii. 483. On the day of trial his friends assembled in such numbers, that the regent put it off for an indeterminate period. Laing, ii. 326.

ing the letters which he had received from him to the queen, with a protestation that the project of marriage had not originated with himself; nor would it ever have obtained his assent, had he not been influenced by motives of personal safety. The resentment of Elizabeth was now wound up to the highest pitch. She ordered the duke, who had reached Burnham, within three miles of the court, to be committed to the Tower; the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke to be excluded from her presence; and the bishop of Ross, the lord Lumley, Throckmorton, and a foreigner named Ridolphi\*, to be placed under arrest. All were subjected to that rigorous system of examination which was then in use. A series of ensnaring questions was proposed to each individual in private, and at the same time he was told that his only hope of mercy depended on the veracity of his answers. The different confessions were then compared; the collation suggested new questions, to explain discrepancies, to call forth additional information, and to draw the prisoners into accusations of each other. Thus the interrogatories were multiplied, till the prosecutors had sifted every suspicious circumstance, and had convinced themselves either of the guilt or of the innocence of the accused. Of the examinations on this occasion, many are still extant†; and from them it is evident that the duke and his friends entertained no traitorous or disloyal intention; though their presumption, in treating with a

\* Ridolphi was an Italian merchant and banker, who had been settled in London for the last fifteen years; and was at the same time a secret agent for the pope and foreign powers. Camd 224. Fénelon, i. 259. After a month's imprisonment he was discharged, but paid a large sum for his liberty. Id. ii. 351. Memorias, vii. 356.

† Haynes, 534—536. 541. 549. When the commissioners informed her that Norfolk had done nothing for which the law would punish him, she replied, "if the law will not, my authority shall." Et entra en si grand coliere, qu'elle esvanouyt, et courut l'on au vinaigre, et aultres remèdes pour la faire revenir. Fénelon, 302. Cecil did not venture into her presence, but advised her by letter to say nothing of treason, but to examine into the facts only, for he could not see how the duke could be charged with treason. Oct. 6. Von Raumer, iii. 179. Yet Fénelon says that Cecil va aigrissant la matiere, p. 303.

foreign princess on such a subject, and in such circumstances, was calculated to offend the feelings and to defeat the policy of their sovereign.

But the attention of the ministers was soon occupied by a much more alarming project. Among the noblemen who, in December, had been called to Westminster, to inquire into the charges against Mary Stuart, were the two great northern earls, Percy of Northumberland, and Neville of Westmoreland, both of them catholics, and both declared friends of the Scottish queen. They availed themselves of the opportunity to confer with her known agents, Ridolphi, the bishop of Ross, and the Spanish ambassador\*. With these men they entered into engagements, the nature of which will be disclosed by the subsequent events, and communicated, on their return home, their views and objects to the most trusty of their adherents,—to the two uncles of Westmoreland; to Leonard Dacre, uncle of the late lord Dacre; to Egremont Ratcliffe, a brother of the earl of Sussex; to the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, Swinburns, and other gentlemen of wealth and influence in the northern counties. From all they received promises of coöperation; from some, as it appears, through mere attachment to the chiefs of the two houses of Percy and Neville; from the majority of catholics, who cherished a hope of their relieving themselves from persecution and restoring the ancient worship†; and from numbers, men of generous

\* Compare Gonzales, *Apuntamientos*, p. 88, with Northumberland's confession, in sir Cuthbert Sharp's *Rebellion of 1553*, App. p. 189.

† Dr. Nicholas Morton, formerly a prebendary of York, had visited the northern counties in the spring of this year. He came from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. The object of his mission appears to have been to impart to the catholic priests, as from the pope, those faculties and that jurisdiction which they can no longer receive in the regular manner from their bishops. Camden says that he urged the northern gentlemen to rebellion, and had been sent to inform them that the pontiff had deposed the queen, on account of *hêresy* (Camden, 194); but he could only inform them that a bull of deposition was in preparation, for it was not signed or published till the next year. Of his activity, however, in preparing the insurrection, there can be little doubt. The Nortons and Markenfields were his relatives. His father and Markenfield's father had married two sisters. *Strype*, ii. 389.



and chivalrous feelings, who offered to risk their lives and fortunes for the deliverance from prison of a young and unfortunate queen. For several months the earls awaited with impatience the issue of the measures pursued by the lords at court, the friends of the duke of Norfolk. These measures, as the reader has seen already, successively failed. Cecil, in defiance of their efforts, was still lord of the ascendant, and the queen forbade the projected marriage in the most peremptory and menacing language.

Sept. 20. These failures might disappoint but they did not intimidate the two earls. Percy informed the Spanish ambassador that "every preparation had been made to take the Scottish queen out of prison by force, and that he would keep her in his power, reckoning upon the good pleasure of the court of Madrid\*." The reply of Espés was cold and cautious. He could not advise the employment of force: it would infallibly lead to the immediate death of Mary: nor had he authority to pledge his sovereign to aid them: for that they must apply to the duke of Alva in Flanders†. This answer was followed by the secret arrival of Havers, a messenger from the duke of Norfolk. Westmoreland met him, at four in the morning, in a field beyond the park, at Brancepath, and learned from him that the duke was at that moment on his way to the court, in obedience to the queen's order,

\* Gonzalez, 94. Nor was he far wrong; for very soon afterwards "the council dealt effectually for justice to be done upon Mary, for being suspected and infamed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmoreland in the rebellion. The great seal of England was sent then, and "thought just and meet upon the sudden for her execution." This appears certain from a letter written at a later period by the earl of Leicester, and published by Mr. Tytler (viii. p. 383). The execution did not follow; perhaps the order was immediately revoked, as sometimes happened through the queen's irresolution; perhaps it was only conditional, to be put in force if any attempt were made in favour of her escape.

† Espés was enthusiastic in the cause of Mary Stuart, and prodigal of promises to her partisans. He seems to have supposed that Alva felt as he did, and would act as he wished; and they gave full credit to his promises, and were encouraged by them to rise. See in Fénelon, ii. 352. 422, the extravagant expectations which he had raised.

and that he conjured his friends in the north to abstain from any hostile demonstration, because the least movement on their part would cost him his life\*. The rising was on this account postponed; but the frequent purchase of horses and armour at fairs and markets, and the continual resort of strangers and suspicious characters at Brancepath, could not fail to attract notice and provoke inquiry.

The earl of Sussex, who was lord president of the north, received orders from court to summon all the members of his council to York, that they might take into consideration the unsettled state of the country. Percy and Neville attended, took their places at the board Oct. according to their rank, displayed in their advice and 8. language, which no one ventured to call in question, and returned home armed with new powers to put down illegal and dangerous assemblies. It had been intended to arrest them in the council, if any plausible pretext had been offered; they probably owed their escape to the credulity of Sussex, who, looking on them as his associates in favour of the duke of Norfolk, gave them credit for the same loyalty to Elizabeth which he felt himself. But the cabinet at Westminster was better informed, and the earls received a second order, delivered to them in the queen's name, to present themselves without fail before the council in York. Their eyes were instantly opened to the danger which threatened them. Westmoreland replied that he dared not obey at that moment, on account of the number of armed men to be met with on the roads. Northumberland began to waver. He was lying at his house at Topcliffe, no great distance from York; and his servants, to put an end to his irresolution, roused him from his bed in the dark of the night with a false report that an armed force was at

\* Murdin, 97. 126. Memorias, 343. Sharp, App. 196, compared with p. 362, note. The countess of Westmoreland was the sister of Norfolk.

hand to take him into custody. He fled to Brancepath, whence he wrote to the lord president, excusing his delay on account of his alarm and flight, and promising to obey the queen's order, but without mentioning any time for his appearance. Both letters were accordingly taken for refusals\*.

- Nothing now remained for the two earls but to unsheathe the sword. Nor did they shrink from the consequence. They wrote immediately to the pope (Pius V.), stating their devoted attachment to the catholic creed, soliciting from him an immediate supply of money, and praying him to employ his influence with the court of Madrid to procure for them military aid from the Spanish army in the Netherlands†. Westmoreland despatched messages to his friends in every part of the bishopric, and the roads were soon covered with small parties of armed horsemen, riding towards Brancepath, where they were hastily mustered and trained in the park. But symptoms of dissension soon appeared among the leaders. Northumberland, whose resolution was generally suspected, declared that he could not think of unfurling the Percy banner in the battle-field with only six followers, the number that accompanied him to Brancepath; he would therefore repair to Alnwick, raise the county, and watch at the same time the Scottish rebels on the borders and the English garrison in Berwick. To this the gentlemen of the bishopric offered the most obstinate resistance. The earls should never "sundre." Separation would be the ruin of the cause, and of all who had embarked in it. They would fight and conquer, but it must be under the united banners of the Percies and Nevilles.
13. That evening nothing was concluded; early in the morning Northumberland departed. He had not proceeded a mile before he was overtaken by a body of
- 14.

\* Camden's Elizabeth, i. 192. Sharp, 12, 13. App. p. 292, 293.

† Ep. P. ii. V. edit. Goban, p. 290.

armed men from Brancepath, who surrounded him, and compelled him to return. The dispute was resumed, but suddenly terminated by the arrival of a pursuyvant from the lord president, with an order from the queen, in her own hand, commanding both the earls, "on their allegiance, to make their repair forthwith to the court." The duke of Norfolk had obeyed a similar order, and been sent to the Tower. Westmoreland declared he would never deliver himself up in this manner to imprisonment and the scaffold. It were better to die in the field. Northumberland could resist no longer. He exclaimed that he would share the fortune of his brother earl. Dissension was now at an end; with shouts of joy the banner of insurrection was raised, and the bells of the parish churches spread the information throughout the country\*.

The first object of the insurgents was, to march to Tutbury, to liberate the queen of Scots, and to extort from Elizabeth a declaration that Mary was next heir to the throne. But to have avowed this, would have been to provoke the removal, if not the death of Mary. It was, therefore, passed over in silence; and, in the numerous proclamations which they published, they state that, if they have taken up arms, it is for the honour and safety of the queen, of the nobility, and of the kingdom. Her majesty is surrounded "by divers newe set-upp nobles, who not onlie go aboute to overthrow and put downe the ancient nobilitie of the realme, but also have misused the quene's majestie's owne personne,

\* It appears that the leaders, before the insurrection, assembled several clergymen, and put to them the question, whether the unjust arrest and imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk would not justify them in taking up arms in defence of their liberties, and of the ancient nobility of the realm. The opinions were divided, but most answered in the negative. Murrin, 221; and Northumberland's confession. It is said that a few days before the insurrection, Northumberland and his countess went to Wentworth house. The latter sought to introduce herself in disguise as a nurse to Bastian's wife in childbed. Had she succeeded she meant to exchange clothes with Mary, that the latter might escape. So Chalmers, from a letter in the paper office, i. 345.

"and also have by the space of twelve yeares nowe past set upp and mayntayned a new-found religion and heresie contrary to God's word." Wherefore they call on all true Englishmen to join with them in their attempt to restore the crown, the nobility, and the worship of God, to their former estate\*.

Aware how powerfully, in times of public commotion, the minds of men are swayed by their religious partialities and antipathies, the insurgents expected much from their repeated appeals to the religious feelings of the people. "There are not," says Sadler, "in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion †." Occasionally, indeed, some of them attended the established worship, that they might escape the grievous penalties threatened by the law: but this very conformity, exorted in opposition to conscience, exasperated their discontent. They saw around them examples of successful insurrection in the cause of religious liberty. The calvinists of Scotland had established their own creed, in defiance of all opposition; the calvinists of France had thrice waged war against their own sovereign; both had been aided with men and money by the queen of England. If this were lawful to other religionists, why might not they also draw the sword, and claim the rights of conscience?

- Nov. The first act of hostility was the occupation of the  
 14. city of Durham by the two earls, at the head of sixty armed horsemen. The inhabitants, either through fear or friendship, lent a willing ear to their demand of assistance; and mass was celebrated in the cathedral before several thousand people, the communion-table thrown down, and the English bible torn into pieces.  
 15. Thence they marched forward, issuing proclamations,

\* The earls did not adhere to the same form in their proclamations. Some were issued in the name of one, some in the names of both: but all reminded their readers of the destruction of religion, and the depression of the nobility.

† Sadler, ii. 55.

calling on the people for aid, and restoring the ancient service at Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, and Rippon. Their standard, representing the Saviour, with blood streaming from his wounds, was borne by Richard Norton, an aged gentleman, whose grey locks and enthusiastic air aroused the feelings and commanded the respect of the beholders. They proceeded as far as Branham moor without opposition, for the earl of Sussex dared not meet them from York, nor sir George Bowes to follow them from Barnard Castle. There they mustered their forces, amounting to seventeen hundred horse, well appointed, and something less than four thousand foot, part of them without arms. But here dissension insinuated itself into their counsels. Their money was already expended, and all their expectations had been disappointed. The Spanish ambassador, to whom they applied, referred them for aid to the duke of Alva, who waited for orders from Philip\*; the catholic gentlemen, instead of responding to their appeal, shunned their approach, and in most instances hastened to the royal banner, under the earl of Sussex†; and eight hundred horse, whom they had despatched to carry off the queen of Scots, returned from Pontefract with the intelligence that it was now too late, for precautions had been taken to prevent a surprise. In addition, alarming rumours were afloat of the numerous army collected in the south, under the earl of Warwick and the lord admiral; and they knew that the lord Hunsdon, with a force from the garrison of Berwick and the royalists on the borders, was preparing to assail them from the north. Under these circumstances they resolved to retrace their steps, and the main body returned to the earl of Westmoreland's castle of Raby‡.

Nov.  
22.

Their first care after their return was to despatch

\* Fénelon, ii. 423.

† "I finde the gentilmen of this countrey, though the most parte of them be well affected to the cause which the rebells make the colour of their rebellion, yet in outwarde shew well affected to serve your majestie trewly against them." Sadler, Nov. 26. Vol. ii. 43.

‡ Fénelon, ii. 377. and his secret memoir to the queen-mother, 417.

- Nov. messengers into different counties, to solicit aid from  
 27. the noblemen and gentlemen distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith, or known to abet the cause of the queen of Scots. In their new manifesto they no longer talked of the reformation of religion, but of the necessity of determining the succession to the crown. This, they observed, had been the object of the ancient nobility of the realm; but had been defeated by the pernicious counsels of the queen's confidential advisers, who sought to maintain their own power by taking the lives and liberties of their adversaries. Hence they had determined to oppose force to force, and, committing themselves to the mercy of the Almighty, earnestly solicited the assistance of all who regarded the welfare of the realm, or the preservation of the ancient nobility. But their late retreat had revealed the secret of their weakness, and proved a useful warning to such of their friends as were not yet implicated in the rebellion. The earl of Derby was the first to apprehend the messenger and send his letters to the queen; the example was followed by many others; and Elizabeth, affected by the loyalty of their conduct, returned thanks to God, who had given her such loving and dutiful subjects\*, though there is reason to believe that this loyalty in many was suggested more by regard for their personal safety than by attachment to her whom they owed for their sovereign†.
- 29.

\* Haynes, 563—565. Mordin, 38. Camden, 194. Sadler, ii. 54. "The queen's majesty hath had a notable tryal of her whole realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service readily of all sorts, without respect of religion." Cecil to Norris. Cabala, 180. It should, however, be observed, that his despatches to ambassadors are to be read with caution. They contain the statements which, whether true or false, that wily minister wished to be circulated in foreign courts.

† This was probably the case with lord Derby, for we still find him, after the suppression of the rebellion, considered as a staunch friend by the partisans of Mary. Mordin, 99. 103. Sussex says, in a letter to Cecil (Dec 6), "I wyshe that some matter were deliuered from thens wherby the realme myght understan: my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Arundell, and my lord of Pembroke, did detest their doynys; for that they abuse the pepell gretely in the places nere to them with those delusions, and yesterdaye have rayssed a brute that th' erle of Worcester is rayssing of " pepell in Wales, and my lord of Arundell in other places "

On the first news of the insurrection, the queen had recourse to the most energetic measures. Arrests were ordered; the despatches of the French and Spanish ambassadors were intercepted and examined; a regiment of disciplined troops was called from the Isle of Wight to guard the royal person; the earl of Bedford was sent to keep in obedience the people of Wales; commissions were issued for the raising of men to form the southern army; and, as Cecil either was, or pretended to be seriously indisposed, Elizabeth refused the prayer of Leicester that he might go and oppose the rebels, and detained him near herself as her principal adviser\*. To her great disappointment, for more than a month the earl of Sussex, her lieutenant, had remained stationary at York. By many it was said that he maintained a secret correspondence with the two earls; and Elizabeth herself began to entertain suspicions of his loyalty. Sir Ralph Sadler proceeded to that city with the title of treasurer of the army, to act as a spy on the conduct of the lieutenant; and a captain Styrlay was suborned to introduce himself as a friend to the earl of Westmoreland at Brancepath. Sussex, however, proved a loyal but cautious commander. The principal portion of his army consisted of catholic gentlemen and their tenants, whom he dared not trust, though duty or interest had ranged under the royal standard; the insurgents greatly outnumbered him in cavalry, and without additional force he hesitated to venture a battle, the loss of which might be followed by the rising of the whole country†. His inactivity permitted the earls to besiege sir George Bowes, the commander of the royalists, in Barnard Castle, which surrendered at the end of ten days‡; and to occupy the small port of Har-

Nov.  
12.Dec.  
1.  
10.

\* Fénelon, ii. 367. 8.

† Sadler, ii. 42. 73. 78. Haynes, 553. 558. 569. I suspect, that the spy captain Styrlay was the same person as is called captain Shurley in Norton's speech at his execution. If so, he appears to have been an active agent in plotting the rebellion. Norton declared that "he was the cause of his death." Howell's State Trials, i. 1085.

‡ His men mutinied, "so far as in one day and nyght 226 men leapyd over the walls, and opened the gates, and went to the enemy, of which number 35 broke their necks, legges, or armes in the leaping." Bowes to Cecil, Sharp, 100.



tlepool, under the delusive notion of opening a communication with the duke of Alva in the Netherlands ; but on the approach of the earl of Warwick, who led an army of twelve thousand men, raised in the southern counties, Sussex set forward, keeping a day's march in advance, and hastened towards the insurgents, whose force was daily diminished by desertion, and whose hopes of success had been disappointed by the apparent apathy of the catholics, and the absence of the expected aid from the Spanish forces. On the approach of the royal army, a council

- Dec. 16. stated that he had not taken up arms against the queen, but to secure his person from arrest, and to offer his remonstrances against the evil counsels of some favourite ministers : the earl of Westmoreland combated the opinions of his associate ; and the result of this dissension was the total dispersion of their force, and the abandonment of the enterprize. The footmen withdrew to their respective homes : the earls, with 500 horse, rode to Hexham : thence they repaired in the company of Edward Dacre to Naworth Castle ; and from Naworth
21. with 200 men crossed the borders into Liddisdale, escorted by 300 Scottish horse, the partisans of Mary \*.

It was in vain that Elizabeth demanded the immediate surrender of the fugitives. Murray, by threats and money, prevailed on Hector Armstrong, of Harlow, to give up the earl of Northumberland : yet he did not dare to send the captive to England, but confined him in the castle of Lochleven. The countess, with the earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, Norton, Markenfield, Swinburn, Tempest, and the other exiles, were safe under the protection of the border clans of Hume, Scot, Carr, Maxwell, and Johnstone, whose chiefs set at defiance the authority of the regent, and the threats of Elizabeth †. In England

Dec. 24.

\* Sadler, ii. 63, 64. Cabala, 170, 171. Fénelon, ii. 427. The men of Liddisdale stole the horses of the countess of Northumberland, of her two ladies, and of ten other persons, so that "they were all left on foot at John "of the Sydes house, a cottage not to be compared with any dogge kennel in England." Sharp, 115.

† Cabala, 171. Haynes, 373. Lodge, ii. 28. Sadler, ii. 50. 101. A letter from Constable, a spy, gives an interesting account of the borderers.

the work of vengeance immediately began. Those among the insurgents who possessed lands or chattels were reserved for trial in the courts of law, that their forfeitures might furnish the queen with an indemnification for the expenses of the campaign, and a fund of remuneration for the services of her adherents\*: but the meaner classes were abandoned to the execution of martial law at the discretion of Sussex, who, whether it was through the natural severity of his disposition, or his anxiety to convince the queen of his loyalty, exercised his authority without mercy†. In the county of Durham alone more than three hundred individuals suffered death, nor was there between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth, a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet as a warning to their fellows. The survivors were at length pardoned, but on condition, that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy‡.

"At supper I hard vox populi that the lord regent would not for his owne honor, nor for th'onor of his countrey deliver th'earls, if he had them both, unless it were to have there quene delivered to him, and if he would agree to make that change, the borderers would stirt up in his contrary, and rescue both the quene and the lords from him: for the like shame was never done in Scotland: and that he durst better eate his own luggs than come again to sake Farnherst. Hector of Th'arlow's (he had betrayed Northumberland) head was wished to be eaten among us at supper." Sadler, ii. 118. If we believe Ross, Murray had actually made the offer of exchange by two successive messengers, but Ross, with the foreign ambassadors, prevented it by their remonstrances. Anderson, iii. 83, 84.

\* The number of these together with the fugitives amounted to fifty-seven, either noblemen or gentlemen or freeholders, whose names may be seen in the act of attainder. Stat. of Realm, v. 549.

† To discover the guilty, Cecil had advised that a few inhabitants of each township should be apprehended, and compelled by imprisonment, and, "if nede shuld, by lac of foode," to disclose the names of those among their neighbours who had joined the rebels. Sharpe, 126.

‡ Camd. 197. Stowe, 614. Holin. iv. 237. Of his intended victims Sussex writes to Cecil on Dec. 28, "the number wherof is yet uncerthen, for that I knowe not the number of the townes: but I gesse that it will not be under 6 or 7 hundred at the least that shal be exequuted of the comon sorte, besides the prisoners taken in the felde." Sharp, Memorials, 121. In his list for the county of Durham dated Jan. 4, he orders 80 to be hanged at Durham, 41 at Durlington, 20 at Barnard Castle, and 172 in the other towns and villages of the county. Ibid. p. 153. Sir George Bowes, the marshal, states that he executed none who had not been in

When the queen's lieutenant had taken ample vengeance on the rebels, she was advised to publish a proclamation declaratory of her past proceedings and present intentions. In it she observed, that many had been drawn into rebellion by false assertions of designing men, who attributed to her an intention of persecuting for religious opinions. She therefore declared, that she claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors; that she pretended no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies, formerly adopted by the catholic and apostolic church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God; but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws, ordained for that end, duly observed, and to provide that the church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers. Moreover, to do away all doubts arising from false reports, she assured her people that she meant not to molest them for religious opinions, provided they did not gainsay the Scriptures, or the creed apostolic and catholic, nor for matters of religious ceremony, as long as they should outwardly conform to the laws of the realm, which enforced the frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches\*.

No one had been more deeply implicated in the project for the liberation of Mary than Leonard Dacre, the male representative of the noble family of the Dacres of Gills-  
 Jan. land. At the commencement of the rebellion he left the  
 18. court to raise men, avowedly for the service of Elizabeth, but with the intention of joining the two earls. Their disorderly flight from Hexham to Naworth convinced him that the cause was desperate. He hung upon their

rebellion two days after the expiration of the first pardon, or had not been active in exciting their neighbours. Ibid. All the documents relating to these transactions have been collected and illustrated with much industry and research in the "Memorials of the Rebellion," by sir Cuthbert Sharp, to whose kindness I am indebted for many of the foregoing particulars.

\* Haynes, 501.

rear, made a number of prisoners, and obtained among his neighbours the praise of distinguished loyalty\*. But the council was better acquainted with his real character; and the earl of Sussex received orders to apprehend him secretly, on a charge of high treason. With this view, the lord Scrope, warden of the west marches, invited Dacre to Carlisle, to a consultation respecting the state of the country. It was too stale an artifice to succeed. Dacre replied that he was confined to his room by illness; but, if Scrope and his colleagues would take a dinner at Naworth, they should have his company, and the best advice his poor head could devise†. Aware of his danger, he determined to brave, single-handed, the authority of his sovereign; and at his call three thousand English borderers had ranged themselves under the scollop shells, the well-known banner of the Dacres. From Naworth Castle he sent a defiance to the Lord Huns- Feb. don, the commander of the royal army, who declined the 20. combat, that he might join the force under lord Scrope at Carlisle. Leonard followed him four miles to the banks of the Chelt, where "hys footmen," says lord Hunsdon, "gave the prowdest charge upon my shott that I ever saw." But the wild valour of the borderers was no match for the steady discipline of a regular force. They were discomfited, and left to their opponents a complete but not a bloodless victory. Leonard found an asylum first in Scotland, and afterwards in Flanders‡.

It is probable that the hopes of Dacres were excited by the intelligence received from Scotland. Murray, the regent, had been shot in the street of Linlithgow by Jan. Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh§. It was said that revenge 23. for the injury suffered by his wife directed the aim of the assassin: it is plain that his design was known and approved by his political associates; for that very night the lairds of Fernherst and Buccleuch crossed the borders in hostile array; the duke of Chastelherault, and

\* Cabala, 171. Sadler, ii. 114. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid 140. Camden, i. 197.

§ Murray has been described, by the writers of one party, as an honest and patriotic nobleman, by those of the other, as one of the most selfish, designing, and unprincipled of men. I will merely remark as something extraordinary, that almost every charge made against him by the advocates of Mary is confirmed by the contemporary memoir of Bothwell, though of the existence of that memoir they must have been ignorant.

the earls of Argyle and Huntley immediately assumed the government in the name of Mary, and Kirkcaldy, the governor of Edinburgh castle admitted them into the capital. The queen's lords and the king's lords, as the opposite parties were called, assembled in different places: the former summoned a parliament against the 3rd of August for the purpose of choosing a regent: the latter sent a messenger to ask the advice and aid of Elizabeth. But the ascendancy assumed by Mary's lieutenant soon expired. The defeat of Dacre allowed the English queen to attend to the affairs of Scotland, and under the pretence of punishing those who had invaded her dominions, and offered an asylum to her rebels, she ordered the lord Scrope to enter Scotland on the western, the earl of Sussex on the eastern, coast. The clans of the Johnstones, Carrs, and Scots, saw their lands wasted, their houses and fortresses given to the flames; Hume-castle and Falscastle, the property of the lord Hume, were taken, and garrisoned with Englishmen; and the earl of Morton, the chief among the king's lords, aided by his foreign allies, ravaged without mercy the domains of the Hamiltons, the Livingstones, and the other adherents of the captive queen\*. They were saved from utter ruin by the importunities of the French ambassador and of the bishop of Ross. Elizabeth recalled her forces; she even appeared to waver between the choice of a successor to Murray, and the liberation of Mary; but the escape of the English rebels from Scotland to Flanders† rekindled her resentment; she signified her willingness, that Morton and his friends should elect a

Apr.  
18.

June  
24.

\* The countess of Westmoreland, though deeply implicated in the rebellion, did not follow her lord into Scotland, but repaired to Howard-house, and, after some hesitation, was received at court. See her letter to Cecil in Sharpe, App. p. 307, Wright, i. 358, and Gonzalez, *Memorias*, 348.

† Whilst they remained in Scotland, they fought with the Scots against the English forces, and made several inroads into England. Applications for pecuniary assistance had been made in their favour, through a brother of Rudolph, both to the Pope and the king of Spain, but at too late a period. Pius sent them on the 20th of February 12,000 crowns, about 3500l English (*Pii Quinti* ep. p. 293): the distribution of which may be seen in Murdin 24. 42. 49. 125.—Phillip also sent Quempe with money and orders to the duke of Alva to assist them: but the duke thought that it was then too late. Compare *Memorias*, vii. 346, with document xi. p. 423.

regent; and Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, July was, at the royal recommendation, raised to that dignity\*. 10.

In narrating these events, the consequences of the detention of Mary in England, I have omitted several insulated occurrences, to which it will now be necessary to call the attention of the reader.—1°. When Pius IV. ascended the papal throne, he had sought by letters and messengers to recall Elizabeth to the communion of the Roman church, and afterwards invited her, like other princes, to send ambassadors to the council at Trent†. The attempt was fruitless: but, though her obstinacy might provoke, his prudence taught him to suppress, his resentment. To the more fervid zeal of his successor Pius V. such caution appeared a dereliction of duty. Elizabeth had by her conduct proclaimed herself the determined adversary of the catholic cause in every part of Europe; she had supported rebels against the catholic sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms; and had, in defiance of justice and decency, thrown into prison the fugitive queen of Scots, the last hope of the British catholics. The pontiff considered himself bound to seek the deliverance of the captive princess: he represented to the kings of France and Spain that honour, and interest, and religion called on them to rescue Mary from imprisonment and death; and the moment he knew that Elizabeth had committed the cognizance of her cause to the commissioners at York and Westminster, he ordered the auditor Riario to commence proceedings against the English queen in the papal court. In the act of accusation it was asserted, that Elizabeth had assumed the title of head of the church, deposed and

1550  
May  
5.

\* Cabala, 171. 174—178. Lodge. ii. 42. Anderson, iii. 90—96. Holius. iv. 338. Memorias, 361.

† Parpalia, whom she knew, was the first messenger (Camden, 72); the second, with the invitation, was Martinengo. He solicited a passport, through the Spanish ambassador. On May 1, 1569, a council was held, and the passport was refused for these reasons: The opening of the council had not been notified to Elizabeth: it was not a free christian council her predecessors had always refused access to papal messengers, when they thought proper. She would refuse now, because his presence might cause disturbance in the realm. Pallavicino, ii. 620. Camden, 84. Strype, i. 113.

imprisoned the canonical bishops, and instituted schismatical prelates in their sees; that, rejecting the ancient worship, she had supported a new worship, and received the sacrament after the manner of heretics; and that she had chosen known heretics for the lords of her council, and had imposed an oath derogatory from the rights of the holy see. In proof of these charges were taken the depositions of twelve Englishmen, exiles for their religion\*, and, after several months, the judges pronounced their opinion that she had incurred the canonical penalties of heresy. A bull was prepared, in  
 370. which the pope, after the enumeration of these offences, was made to pronounce her guilty of heresy, to deprive her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England, and to absolve her English subjects from their allegiance. Still, forcible objections were urged against the proceeding, and Pius himself hesitated to confirm it with his signature. At length the intelligence arrived of the failure of the insurrection: it was followed by an account of the severe punishment inflicted on the northern catholics, of whom no fewer than eight hundred were said to have perished by the hands of the executioners; and the pontiff, on the 25th of February, signed the bull, and ordered its publication. Several copies were sent to the duke of Alva, with a request that he would make them known in the sea ports of the Netherlands; and by the duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England†. Early in the morning of the fifteenth of May, one was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated: a rigorous search was

\* The witnesses were Goldwell, the deprived bishop of St. Asaph, Shelley, prior of St. John's, Cluncock, bishop elect of Bangor, Morton, prebendary of York, Henshaw, rector of Lincoln college, Daniel, dean of Hereford, Bromborough, Hall, and Kirton, doctors of divinity, and three others, Beechetti, xii. 105.

† Ibid. 107. It has been supposed that this bull was solicited by Philip. But, in a letter to his ambassador in England (June 30), he says that he never heard of its existence before it had been announced to him by that minister, and attributes it to the zeal rather than the prudence of the Pontiff. *Memorias*, 351.

made through the inns of law ; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton resided near Southwark, a gentleman of large property and considerable acquirements ; but his temper was ungovernable, and his attachment to the creed of his fathers approached to enthusiasm. On his apprehension he boldly confessed, that he had set up the bull ; refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices and abettors ; and suffered the death of a traitor, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. But, though he gave the queen on Aug. the scaffold no other title than that of the pretender, he 8. asked her pardon, if he had injured her ; and in token that he bore her no malice, sent her as a present, by the earl of Sussex, a diamond ring, which he drew from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds\*.

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence ; among the English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by an incompetent authority ; others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power ; all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a

\* Camden, 211—215. Bridgewater, 42. Dodd. ii. 157. The government account of his execution makes him repent of the fact. It is in Howell's State Trials, 1085. His wife, who had been maid of honour to Mary, and a friend of Elizabeth, had till her death a licence to keep a priest for her own family. Felton obtained the copies of the bull from the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador, who immediately left the kingdom. Becchetti, 107.



source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion, and domestic treason\*. She complained of it by her ambassadors as an insult to the majesty of sovereigns; and she requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revocation. To the solicitations of that prince Pius answered by asking, whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the holy see? if invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? As for the threat of personal revenge, which she held out, he despised it. He had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause†.

2°. If, however, the kings of France and Spain refused to avail themselves of the papal bull, it was not because they had received no cause of provocation. The English ministers persisted in their former policy. That they might occupy these powerful princes at home, they continually urged the reformers in France and the Netherlands to take up arms, and aided their efforts sometimes covertly with money, sometimes more openly by actual hostilities. The discontent in the Netherlands was at first common to both catholics and protestants. The natives had for centuries grown in wealth and population under the mild and paternal government of the

\* A conspiracy was detected in Norfolk, about the same time when Felton set up the bull: but there does not appear any connexion between the two. Three gentlemen were accused of a design to invite Leicester, Cecil, and Bacon, to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and to expel the foreign protestants, who had lately been settled in the county. They had a proclamation ready, inveighing against the wantonness of the court, and the influence of new men. (Camden, 215. Lodge, ii. 46.) Soon afterwards lord Morley retired to the continent. It was supposed that he scrupled to acknowledge the queen after the publication of the bull, and the earl of Southampton requested to have on the subject the opinion of the bishop of Ross, who replied, that there could be no difficulty; such bulls must, before they could bind, be put in execution, and that depended on foreign princes, not on private individuals. Murdin, 30. 40. It appears, however, that Morley left the kingdom on another account; to escape the prosecutions with which he was threatened for having been present at mass. Haynes, 604. 605. 622.

† Becchetti, xii. 107, 108.

dukes of Burgundy: but the rights and franchises which they claimed accorded not with the arbitrary notions of their present sovereign, Philip of Spain; nor was it long before every class of men began to remonstrate; the nobility, that they had been deprived of their constitutional weight in the state; the clergy, that the most opulent abbeys, hitherto possessed by natives, had been dissolved to found bishoprics, which were bestowed on strangers; the reformers, that they were the victims of a sanguinary persecution; and the laymen of both persuasions, that their best and dearest privileges were invaded by the illegal proceedings of a new tribunal, formed after the model of the Spanish inquisition. To put down this odious institution, both catholics and protestants bound themselves to each other by the most solemn engagements. The compromise (such was the name which they gave to the league) alarmed the duchess of Parma, the governess of the provinces; she commanded the inquisitors to suspend their proceedings, and the reformers, looking on this concession as a victory, rose in arms for the purpose, as they pretended, of extirpating idolatry, plundered the churches, murdered the priests, and drove the monks and nuns from their convents. Though the duchess, blending firmness with conciliation, had been able to suppress this ebullition of popular fanaticism, Philip deemed her unequal to the task of supporting the sovereign authority in such turbulent times, and chose for her successor Alvarez, duke of Alva, whose principles of passive obedience had recommended him to the favour of the king, and whose military renown struck terror into the hearts of the factions. The men who had been, if not the ostensible leaders, at least the secret abettors, of the preceding troubles, were William, prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn; all three making open profession of the catholic creed, though the former, if he had any religion at all, was in heart a protestant. The prince, anticipating the vengeance of the king, had

stolen away to his principality of Nassau. Egmont and Horn awaited the arrival of Alva. The duke entered Aug. the Netherlands at the head of fourteen thousand men : in the presence of this force the spirit of opposition melted away ; the former edicts were confirmed by others still more rigorous ; the penalties of treason were denounced against all who had framed the compromise, or insulted the religion and authority of their sovereign ; Sept. and the two counts, in consequence of orders received 8. from Philip, were apprehended and imprisoned.

3°. The prince of Orange had long been secretly connected with the prince of Condé, and the other protestant leaders in France, who all believed, or affected to believe, that at the interview between the French and Spanish courts at Bayonne, a league had been formed by the catholic princes for the extirpation, first of the protestants in France, and then of the protestants in other countries \*. Of this league no satisfactory evidence has ever been produced ; but the opinion of its existence served the purpose of those who framed the report, as effectually as if it had been real. Assuming the arrival of the duke of Alva as the first step in the plan, Condé called a meeting of the French protestants, in which it was resolved to anticipate their enemies, by surprising

\* This meeting arose out of the desire of Catherine, the queen-mother of France, to see her daughter Isabella, the Spanish queen. Philip acceded to the request with reluctance ; and refused to be present himself, though he sent his wife, under the care of the duke of Alva. Condé and his friends immediately gave out, that some great political object, relative to the destruction of protestantism, was concealed under the cover of this family meeting. But no proof of this ever appeared ; and the question, if it ever was a question, seems to me completely set at rest by the researches of Mr. Von Raumer, with respect to the conferences at Bayonne. The documents which he has published fill one hundred pages (Von Raumer, i. 112—122.) ; and yet there is not a passage in them to countenance the suspicion that such a league was ever in the contemplation of the parties at that interview. — Sir James Mackintosh thought that he had discovered a proof of such league at an earlier period, soon after the peace of Cateau Cambresis, when the prince of Orange, as it is stated in his declamatory answer to the charges of Philip, drew from the king of France in conversation a disclosure of their designs. But further examination would have proved to him that the whole disclosure amounted only to this, that Philip, having established the inquisition in his own dominions, had advised his French brother to do the like. See Du Mont, i. v. 322.

the court at Monceaux. The project was, however, discovered, and the king escaped with difficulty to Paris, in the midst of a body of Swiss infantry, who, marching in a square, repulsed every charge of the Huguenot cavalry. The English ambassador, Norris, had been deeply implicated in the arrangement of this atrocious, and, in reality, unprovoked attempt: but though the queen, as a sovereign, condemned the outrage, Cecil required Norris to "comfort" the insurgents, and exhort them to persevere\*. Thus a new civil and religious war was lighted up in the heart of France: the king found himself besieged in his capital; and if the insurgents were defeated in the battle of St. Denis, the advantage was dearly purchased with the death of the constable Montmorency. A short pacification was concluded in the Mar spring†; but the interval was employed by the Huguenots to carry the flames of war into the Netherlands; and three thousand French protestants joined the prince of Orange, who had now openly embraced the reformed faith, and had undertaken to expel the Spaniards from Belgium. He sent before him his brother Louis of Nassau, who penetrated into the province of Groningen. At first a partial victory cheered him with the hope of more decisive success: but Alva marched against him with expedition, burst into his intrenchments, and dispersed his army. A few days later, Orange, with twenty thousand men, crossed the Rhine. But it was in vain that the prince offered battle to his wary antagonist; that he encamped and decamped nine-and twenty times; the vigilance of the duke was not to be surprised; and want, mutiny, and desertion, compelled the prince to recross the borders, and to disband his army‡.

During these transactions, Elizabeth's ministers had practised their usual policy. In secret they aided the prince of Orange: publicly they maintained the rela-

\* Cabala, 143. Davila, 200. Castelnau, l. vi. c. 4.

† Benoît, 38. Davila, 224.

‡ Meteren, 79. Strada, l. vii. Bentivoglio, 86. 91.

tions of amity with the Spanish monarch\*. Many of the troops that invaded the Netherlands had been raised at the instigation of the English agents abroad; many had been paid with English money. But chance supplied an easy means of inflicting a more severe wound on the Spanish interest in Belgium. A small fleet of five zabras had sailed from the coast of Biscay for the port of Antwerp. They were laden with wool on account of certain merchants, and with specie to the amount of 550,000 ducats of reals for the payment of the army under the duke of Alva. It was a time when the English channel was infested with hordes of corsairs, men of every nation, who, under the colour of aiding the cause of their co-religionists in France and the Netherlands, made prizes of French and Spanish merchantmen, and then disposed of them by sale in the English ports, with the connivance of the government. Four of the zabras sought refuge in Falmouth and Plymouth; one ventured as far as Southampton Water. Espés, the ambassador, placed the treasure under the queen's protection, and received from her warrants authorizing him to transport it at his option by land to Dover, or by sea in English vessels to Antwerp. The agents of the princes of Orange and Condé took alarm: they called to their assistance Cecil and his friends, and with their united arguments and solicitations prevailed on Elizabeth to consent to a temporary detention of the money. As a justification it was at first suggested to detain it as security for the repayment of a large sum lent by her father, Henry, to Charles V., the father of Philip, 1543, at the siege of Landrecy. The cunning of Cecil exchanged this

1558.  
Nov.  
20.

\* Mann was at this time ambassador at the court of Spain. In the spring of 1568 he was "secluded from the use of his office, and removed to "a village called Bannias, two leagues from Madrid." The cause of this treatment was given out to be the irreverent language which he had used when speaking of the pope. (Camden, 175.) But, according to Gonzalez, he had called the king a papist and hypocrite, had retold the triumph of the insurgents in the Netherlands, and had suffered his servants to behave with disrespect in a church at the elevation of the host. *Memorias*, 328. Philip complained of him to Elizabeth (April 6) as "no ambassador, but "a perturbator of the peace." She recalled him in June.

for a more specious pretext. As an attempt, probably a preconcerted attempt, had been made by a body of corsairs on one of the Spanish ships; it was pretended that the queen was bound in honour to provide for the security of the treasure, and under that colour orders were despatched to the officers at the ports to take possession of the zabras, to discharge the crews, to send the captains up to London, and to transfer the chests and barrels of money to the queen's stores. Espés, in alarm, demanded, and after a long delay obtained, an audience. But now Elizabeth had another motive for the detention. She had reason to believe the treasure did not belong to the king of Spain, but to certain foreign bankers, who had sent it to Flanders for their own profit. He put into her hands a certificate from the duke of Alva that it was the bonâ fide property of the king, forwarded by him for the sole purpose of the payment of his army. She replied that a few days would clear up her doubt on that head. If it belonged to Philip, it should be restored to him; if to the bankers, she would keep it for her own use, paying to them the usual rate of interest.

Alva had already heard of the seizure of the money, and, aware of the object of the English ministry, on this very day, by way of reprisal, took possession of the English factory at Antwerp, made its inmates prisoners, and kept the ships and merchandize for an indemnity. To retaliate, the goods of the subjects of Philip in England were now seized, and the ambassador was confined in his own house, under the inspection of three gentlemen stationed there as wardens. Hence new claims, complaints and recriminations, became mixed up with the controversy; the settlement of the original question was protracted and postponed indefinitely, and the military operations of Alva were paralyzed by the loss of the money for the payment of his army. There were, indeed, among the colleagues of Cecil, several who disputed the policy as well as the honesty of these proceedings; but they dared not openly oppose him; and, absenting themselves under pre-

text of indisposition from the council, left to him the whole responsibility of severing the ancient league between the English crown and the house of Burgundy, and of putting an end to the commercial relations which for two centuries had proved a plentiful source of wealth to both countries\*.

It might have been expected that hostilities would immediately ensue. But the resentment of Philip was checked by the prudence of Alva, who advised him not to draw so powerful an enemy on himself before he had reduced the insurgents in the Netherlands. He was even prevailed upon to send a commissioner to treat on the subject in London. Conferences were opened, and suspended, and prolonged: so that during four years it was difficult to say whether the two crowns were at war or peace, Elizabeth aiding the insurgents with money, and raising men in Germany for their service, and Philip supporting the exiles in Flanders, and keeping alive the hopes of the discontented both in England and Ireland.

The princes of Orange and Condé had constantly acted in concert; and the former had no sooner retreated from Belgium than the flames of war burst out for the third time in the heart of France. Each party laid the blame on the perfidy of the other: and both the king and the prince sought to strengthen themselves with the aid of foreign powers. Condé, not content with the promises of the prince of Orange and the offers of the duke of Deux-ponts, despatched Chastillon, and afterwards Cavaignes, into England†. But the disgraceful termination of her  
 1568. former attempt in France had taught Elizabeth a useful  
 Sept. lesson; and to overcome her repugnance to join in the  
 17. present war it was observed to her that the cause of the

\* See the queen's proclamation in defence of this seizure, the answer to that proclamation by the ambassador, and several notices respecting the transaction in the despatches of Fénelon, i. 43. 59. 76. 89. 96. 104. 107. 119. 126; Cabala, 153. 160; Murdin, 766; Haynes, 501; Camden, i. 75.

† Chastillon was the brother of the admiral Coligni, and, though a cardinal, had embraced the reformed creed with the rest of his family. He resided several years in England as the principal agent for the party.

French protestants was her own ; that the moment they should be subdued the queen of Scots would be recognised by the catholic powers as queen of England ; that Mary had already transferred her right to the duke of Anjou ; that the pope had granted to him the investiture of the kingdom ; and, what ought to remove every doubt, the command of the army which should invade England had been already offered to Condé\*. What credit the queen gave to these fables is uncertain ; but she consented to aid the prince with twenty thousand pounds and a certain quantity of military stores, on pretence of payment for wine and salt to the same value ; opened her ports to receive the prizes taken from the French and Belgic catholics, and suffered Chastillon to sell them as the property of Condé, and to transmit the money to the insurgents†. The king of France complained that England supplied the wants of his rebellious subjects, and that Norris the ambassador was one of the chief instigators of the troubles within his dominions. But the ingenuity of Cecil supplied him with evasions ; and Norris was exhorted to persevere in defiance of the remonstrances and threats of the French monarch. The cause of the insurgents met, however, with repeated disappointments. Condé fell in the battle of Jarnac ; Dandelot died of an infectious fever ; and the admiral Coligni, the chief hope of the Huguenots, was defeated by the duke of Anjou, at Montcontour. From this period the queen of England ceased not to exhort both parties to sheath the sword ;

1569.  
Mar.  
13.

\* Haynes, 474. This tale, so likely to raise angry and vindictive feelings in the breast of the English queen, was for a long time firmly believed by her. She gave no credit to repeated denials by Mary Stuart, but was at last satisfied (August 17) by formal written declarations from the king of France, the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the archbishop of Glasgow, that there was not an atom of truth in the report.—Fénélon, ii. 178. The declarations of the king and the duke have been published in Fénélon, i. 431—435, immediately after three other documents (p. 425—431), with which they have no connection whatsoever. It is plain that, though they are numbered consecutively, the fourth and fifth refer to a transaction supposed to have taken place in 1569 ; the other three were signed in 1559.

† Thuan, ii. 696.



1570. and a third edict of pacification was published in the Aug. course of the following year\*.

5. How far such perpetual interference of the English government in the internal concerns of foreign states could be justified by the apprehension of future danger, I shall not stop to inquire: but Elizabeth could have no reason to complain, if, after what had passed, the French and Spanish kings should convert her own policy against herself. Hitherto, indeed, they deemed it prudent to dissemble, that they might not, by open hostility, compel her to make common cause with their discontented subjects: but they cherished the recollection of the injuries which they had received, and trusted that the day would come when they should be able to take just and ample revenge†.

\* Cabala, 152. 154. 155. 165. Murdin. 766.

† Dissimulare malebat Philippus ne Iudibrio esset, ira in tempus dilata. Romplani Pontificatus Greg. xiii. 235. From the despatches of the French and Spanish ambassadors, it appears that they made innumerable complaints to the queen of the aid given to the insurgents. Sometimes she had recourse to evasions; sometimes she justified her conduct by fairly alleging the supposed league for the extirpation of protestantism. But when she was called upon for proof of the existence of such league, she could produce only conjecture and report. They assured her that it was a fiction, devised and employed to alarm her and her protestant subjects. See Fénelon, i. 229. 323. ii. 5. 20. 33. 47. 106.

## CHAPTER II.

**Consultations respecting the Scottish queen—Penal laws against the Catholics—Proceedings against the Puritans—Detection of a conspiracy—Trial and execution of the duke of Norfolk—Civil war in France—Civil war in the Netherlands—The duke of Anjou accepts the sovereignty—Visits the queen of England—They promise to marry each other—His departure and death—Affairs of Ireland.**

MORE than two years had elapsed since the arrival of 1570 Mary in England; and she was still a captive, still her fate was held in suspense. To indifferent persons her detention appeared a most cruel and arbitrary measure. By the counsellors of Elizabeth, it was justified on the ground of expediency. They saw that her right to the succession was generally admitted. Should she survive their mistress, they could anticipate nothing but danger to themselves from her resentment, and danger to the reformed church from her attachment to the ancient worship. It was moreover known that in the estimation of many she had a better claim to the present possession of the crown than Elizabeth herself. If a favourable opportunity were to offer, could it be doubted that the kings of France and Spain, in revenge of the injuries which they had received, and the catholics of England, to relieve themselves from the pressure of persecuting laws, would unite and place her on the English throne? In their opinion, the very existence of the government and of the established worship was at stake\*.

\* Such apprehensions perpetually occur in the State Papers of this reign. "Our chief object," says Leicester, "are these two things, that the queen may be preserved in safety, and the true religion maintained assuredly." 51.

The shortest and most certain expedient was to go boldly to the root of the evil, and by the death of Mary to extinguish at once the hopes and the designs of her partisans. This, during several years, was strongly and repeatedly urged by some of the council \*. If it was rejected by Elizabeth, her repugnance arose less from motives of humanity than of decency. She was willing that Mary should perish, but was ashamed to imbrue her own hands in the blood of a sister-queen. Hence she offered to transfer the royal captive to the hands of the Scottish regent, provided he would give security that she should be removed out of the way; and hence the earl of Shrewsbury was made to engage, that Mary should be put to death on the very first attempt to rescue her from his custody †.

In the supposition that the Scottish queen were suffered to live, the marriage of Elizabeth into the royal house of France had been suggested by Cecil, and was supported by the earl of Sussex ‡. Then, if the queen had issue, Mary would cease to be the presumptive heir; if she had none, the French monarch would still have a strong interest in maintaining Elizabeth on the throne. Leicester and Hatton, the queen's minions, as they were called, advocated the same opinion in public; in private they whispered, so at least it was said, very different sentiments in the royal ear §.

There was another party, consisting of Bromley, Mildmay, Sadler, and Sidney, who ridiculed the dangers apprehended by their colleagues, and maintained that the queen, by persevering in the conduct which she had hitherto observed, might continue to reign with equal safety and glory. She had only to keep down the discontented at home by the severity of the laws, and to occupy the attention of her enemies abroad by preserv-

\* See Digges, 203. 263. 263. 269. 276. Part of Leicester's letter in Murrin (231.) refers to the same object.

† Murrin, 224. Lodge, ii. 96.

‡ See his opinion at length in Lodge, ii. 177—186.

§ Digges, 343. Camden, 276. 322. 329. Lodge, ii. 134.

ing alive the spirit of revolt in their dominions, and she would still be the terror of her own subjects, and the arbitress of the neighbouring powers\*. In this opinion the other two parties, as long as they could not carry their favourite projects, concurred. But experience proved that they had to treat with a fickle and obstinate woman, who was swayed as much by passion as by reason; and who, in a sudden fit of pride, or terror, or parsimony, would often reject their advice, and break all their measures.

In the autumn of 1570, the solicitations of Mary, the attempts of her friends in England†, and the remonstrances of the French and Spanish monarchs, extorted from Elizabeth a promise to fix the conditions on which her captive might at last be restored to liberty. For this purpose, Cecil and Mildmay repaired to Chatsworth, Oct. 5. where the Scottish queen had been confined for the last four months‡. During the negociation, which continued a fortnight, that princess proved herself a match for these wily and experienced statesmen: but the necessity of her situation compelled her to yield in a manner to all their demands, and to throw herself on the mercy of her English sister, with respect to those points which bore the hardest on her maternal and religious feelings. Elizabeth professed to be satisfied; the only thing wanting to a complete accord was the assent of the two parties in Scotland, called the king's and the 1571.  
Feb. 11. queen's lords§. The first, with Morton at their head,

\* Murdin 326, 327, 333, 334. Sadler, ii, 563.

† Several persons undertook to liberate her from her captivity, among whom were sir Thomas Stanley and sir Edward Stanley, younger sons of the earl of Derby; sir Henry Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland; sir Thomas Gerard, Rolleston, Hall, Owen, and others. Camden, 216. Murdin, 20—22, 35.

‡ Cecil did not like the appointment. "I am thrown into a maze, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay and I are sent to the Scottish queen. God be our guide; for neither of us like the message." Cabala, 179.

§ One of the most singular propositions submitted to Mary was, that she should forbear all claim to the crown of England, "whilst the queen's majesty and any issue to come of her body shall live," so that the queen of Scots should not be deprived of any right of hers "yf

read to Elizabeth, in defence of their proceedings, a long lecture on the abstract right of subjects to depose immoral or lawless sovereigns; a most uncourtly doctrine, to which she listened with an evil grace, and answered with expressions of displeasure. With those of the latter the chief subjects of discussion were the securities to be given by the queen of Scots; a discussion which was protracted from day to day by the usual irresolution of Elizabeth. On the one hand, she feared to restore to her crown a princess whom she had so deeply injured; on the other she deemed it dangerous and disgraceful to sanction by her authority the democratic doctrine of the king's lords. She balanced so long between the two extremes, that her favourite counsellors could not divine the result\*; she was rescued from this state of suspense by the policy of Cecil, whom she had lately raised to the peerage by the title of baron Burghley.

Feb. 25. Ever since the edict of pacification in France, mentioned in the last chapter, it had been a favorite object with the leaders of the Huguenots to bring about a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou, the eldest of the two brothers of Charles IX. Chastillon first ventured to break the subject to Elizabeth, and, to his great satisfaction, obtained from her permission to proceed with his plan. He then attempted to sound the disposition of the royal family in France, by a message to Catharine de Medicis, the queen-mother. She received the proposal very coldly, not that she was blind to the benefits which her

1570.  
Oct.  
20.

"God should not give to the queenis majestie *any issue* of her bodye to have continuance." Mary consented, but on condition that in both places the word "lawful" should be inserted before "issue." To this the commissioners demurred: and after a debate of some days it was allowed, in consequence of new but angry instructions from the English queen, to stand thus, "any issue by any lawful husband." Haynes, 608, 614. It is remarkable that Elizabeth would never allow the expression, "heirs lawfully to be begotten," used in the statute of the first of her reign, to be employed afterwards, but substituted in its place the "natural issue of her body:" and the more remarkable, because she knew of a scandalous report that she had already had two children by Leicester. Only the last August a gentleman, named Marsham, had been tried at Norfolk, for saying, "that my lord of Leicester had ii childrue by the quene: and was condemned to lowse both his eares, or ells pay c*l*. presently." Lodge ii. 47.

\* "Believe me," says Leicester, "whatever you may hear, there is no man in England can tell you which way it will go." Digges, 57. See note (B)

family and the French crown might derive from such marriage, but because she looked upon the suggestion as an artifice of the English minister, who had some very different object in view. Repeated messages and hints induced her at last to view the matter in a more favourable light; but, to her great mortification, Anjou sent her word by the king, his brother, that he could not think of disgracing himself by taking for his wife a woman who had no regard for her own honour. He was too well acquainted with the character of the English queen, from the despatches of all the ambassadors and envoys who, of late years, had visited the English court\*. More than a fortnight passed before she could extort from her son his assent; still she was apprehensive of making him, as so many others had been made, the dupe of Elizabeth's caprice, and resolved, if it were possible, to extract information from lord Buckhurst, the ambassador. Meeting him, as if it had been by accident, in the garden of the Tuilleries, she entered into conversation with him, and was very frankly informed that the queen, his mistress, had determined, for divers weighty reasons, to marry forthwith, but on this condition, that her husband should not be a subject of her own, nor a foreigner of any but a royal house. More than this he could not say; for it was not becoming in the female to act the part of the wooer. But the impatience of Elizabeth condescended to act that part. She sent her portrait as a present to the French prince, complained of the little credit paid to her repeated protestations of sincerity†, and received at last, through Cavalcanti‡, a proposal of marriage

\* Mon fils m'a fait dire par le roy qu'il ne la veut jamais espouser, quand bien elle le voudrait, d'autant qu'il a toujours si mal oui parler de son honneur, et en a veu des lettres escrites de tous les ambassadeurs, qui y ont este, qu'il penseroit estre deshonoré.—The queen-mother to Fénelon (Depesches, vii. 179). The ambassador meets the objection indirectly in the following manner: L'on a peu diversement escriber et parler de ceste princesse, sur l'oyr dire les gens, qui quelque fois ne pardonnent a ceulx mesmes qui sont les meilleurs, mais de tant qu'en sa court l'on ne voyt que ung bon ordre, et elle y estre bien fort honoree et ententive en ses affaires, et que les plus grandz de son royaume et toutz ses subjectz la craignent et reverens, et elle ordonne d'eulx et sur eulx avec pleine autorite j'ai estimé que cela ne pouvoit proceder de personne mal famée, et on il n'y eust de la vertu. Vol. iv. p. 11.

† Elle prioit Dieu de ne luy donner a vivre une heure apres qu'elle auroit pensé de user de moquerie. Fénelon, iv. 41.

‡ Guido Cavalcanti, an Italian of noble family, had originally been employed by the duke of Alva in missions to the courts of England and France, in both of which he became a great favourite with the sovereigns.

in due form from Anjou himself. Whilst, however, her mind was eagerly intent on this new pursuit, her anxiety to come to a final accord with Mary Stuart appeared to cool, and the enemies of the Scottish queen improved the opportunity to break off the conferences. The commissioners, on the part of the young king, were remanded, on the ground that they had come without sufficient powers; those of Mary were dismissed, with a recommendation to be ready against the return of their adversaries. The whole was an artifice to gain time: if the marriage with Anjou should take place, no accord with Mary would be requisite; if it did not, the treaty might be renewed at the will of Elizabeth\*.

Mar. 26. Scarcely were the commissioners departed, when the parliament commenced. The late occurrences, the rebellion in the north, the publication of the papal bull, and the unlicensed departure from England of the lord Morley and several other gentlemen, suggested to the ministers several new enactments, which had for their chief object to check the boldness of the partisans of Mary, and to cut off the communication between the English catholics and the court of Rome. The first bill was divided into two parts. By one it was proposed to make it treason in any individual to claim a right to the crown during the queen's life; or to assert that it belonged to any other person than the queen; or to publish that she was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; or to deny that the descent and inheritance of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament: by the other to punish, with one year's im-

April  
2.

\* In a letter of April 8th, Elizabeth is made to inform Walsingham, that when she "minded to make a final end of the business, she found "that the earl of Morton and his colleagues had no sufficient commission; "they therefore go home to obtain one, which done, she trusts shortly to "make an end of the controversy." Digges, 77. Yet all this is a tissue of falsehood. At the very commencement Morton informed the council, Feb. 19, that he had no power to negotiate respecting the restoration of Mary to the royal authority. (Haynes, 623.) And Cecil on March 24th, and April 7th, told Walsingham, "that it was only devised to win delay:" and therefore "he must make the best of it, and seek out reasons to satisfy the French court." Digges, 67, 78.

prisonment for the first offence, and with the penalty of premunire for the second, all persons who should by writing or printing affirm that any one particular person was the heir of the queen, except the same were "the natural issue of her body\*." Another bill enacted the penalties of treason against all persons who should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull, writing, or instrument from the bishop of Rome, or absolve or be absolved in virtue of such bulls or writings†; and the penalties of premunire against their aiders and abettors, and all others who should introduce or receive the things called agnus Dei, and crosses, pictures, or beads blessed by the bishop of Rome, or others deriving their authority from him; a third compelled all individuals above a certain age, not only to attend the established service, but also to receive the communion after the new form; and a fourth ordered every person who had left, or who should leave the realm, either with or without licence, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the penalty of forfeiting his goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands during life, to the use of the queen. These bills diffused the most serious alarm through the whole body of the catholics. It was evident that the ministers sought the total extinction of the ancient faith. The catholic lords, a large portion of the house, assembled; they complained that, if the bills passed, they could neither remain within the kingdom without offence to their consciences, nor leave it without the

\* *Incredibile est quos jocos improbi verborum aucupes sibi fecerunt ex clausula illa, præter naturalem ex ipsius corpore sobolem.* Camden, 241. The next year she was troubled with fits, which gave rise to conjectures and reports. "I assure you," says Leicester to Walsingham, "it is not as has been reported. Somewhat, indeed, her majesty hath been troubled with a spie or shew of the mother, but indeed not so. The fits that she hath had hath not been above a quarter of an hour; and yet this little hath bred strange brutes here at home." Digges, 283.

† At the last Norfolk assizes three gentlemen were "condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the losse of all their goods and lands during their lives, for recon-ilement." Lodge, ii. 46. A man was said to be reconciled, who, after he had gone to the new service, returned to the catholic worship, and received absolution. This religious offence by the new statute was made high treason.



sacrifice of their fortunes ; and they determined to wait in a body on the queen, and present to her a strong but respectful remonstrance. This project was, however, abandoned : but, at the same time, the bill respecting the frequentation of communion, the most harassing in its probable consequences, was dropped. The other three passed the two houses, and received the royal assent\*.

But in addition to the catholics, there was another class of religionists, that gave the queen perpetual cause of disquietude. These were the puritans : they derived their origin from some of the exiled ministers, who, during the reign of Mary, had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, and on their return urged the queen to a further reformation. They approved of much that had been done : but they also complained that many things had been left untouched, to which they could not accommodate their consciences. They objected to the superiority of the bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts ; to the repetition of the Lord's prayer, to the responses of the people, and to the reading of the apocryphal lessons in the liturgy ; to the sign of the cross in the administration of baptism, and to the ring and the words of the contract in that of marriage ; to the observance of festivals, the chant of the psalms, and the use of musical instruments in cathedral churches ; and, above all, to the habits " the very livery of the beast," enjoined to be worn by the ministers during the celebration of the service†.

It is pretty evident that the queen herself had formed no settled notions of religion. Policy had induced her to adopt the reformed creed ; policy equally taught her to repress the zeal or the fanaticism of these ultra-reformers. On the one hand, the less she receded from the ancient model, the more easily would her catholic subjects be brought to conform to the new worship ; on

\* Stat. of Realm, iv. 528.

† Neal's Puritans, c. iv. v.

the other, there had been much in the previous conduct of the puritans to wound and alarm her pride and her feelings. They had written against the government of females; they still taught that the church ought to be independent of the state. It was in vain that they offered apologies for the obnoxious works; that they took the oath of supremacy in the sense which she had given to it in her injunctions though they were secretly supported by the most favoured and powerful of her ministers, she retained to the last a rooted antipathy against their doctrines, an insuperable jealousy of all their proceedings.

By the assumption of the supremacy it had become the duty of Elizabeth to watch over the purity of doctrine, the maintenance of discipline, and the decency of the public worship; and, when it was asked how a female could execute these functions, or exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the legislature solved the difficulty by enabling her to avail herself of the services of delegates appointed by the crown. These she armed with the most formidable and inquisitorial powers. They were authorized to inquire, on the oath of the person accused, and on the oaths of witnesses, of all heretical, erroneous, and dangerous opinions; of absence from the established service, and the frequentation of private conventicles; of seditious books and libels against the queen, her magistrates, and ministers; and of adulteries, fornications, and all other offences cognizable by the ecclesiastical law; and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation\*. The first victims who felt the vengeance of this tribunal,

\* Rymer, xvi. 291. 564. Whoever will compare the powers given to this tribunal with those of the Inquisition, which Philip II. endeavoured to establish in the Low Countries, will find that the chief difference between the two courts consisted in their names. One was the court of inquisition, the other of high commission. In the first commissions (see one in Strype's Grindal, App. 64.) the power of interrogating the person accused on his oath was not expressly inserted: yet the judges always attempted it, because they were ordered to inquire "by all ways and means they could devise."

called the high commission court, were the catholics; from the catholics its attention was soon directed to the puritans.

Archbishop Parker, as chief commissioner, had with the aid of his colleagues compiled certain ordinances respecting the apparel of the clergy, and the order of the service. He undertook the task by command of the queen: but she was advised by the enemies of the measure to refuse her approbation, and the ordinances were at last published under the more modest title of advertisements. Still, however, she urged the commissioners to the discharge of their duty. Sampson, dean of Christ church, and Humphreys, president of Magdalen college, were imprisoned for their disobedience; thirty-seven out of the London clergy were suspended from the exercise of their functions; and an intimation was given, that unless they should conform within the space of three months, their obstinacy would be visited with the punishment of deprivation\*.

This act of rigour, instead of producing uniformity, led to an open schism. The lay puritans abandoned the churches, and held private meetings for the purpose of religious worship. But "conventicles" came within the jurisdiction of the delegates. More than one hundred persons, apprehended at a meeting in Plumber's hall, were brought before the high commission court; those who refused to acknowledge their offence were committed; and of the prisoners, twenty-four men and seven women did not recover their liberty till the expiration of twelve months. But the experience of ages has shown that religious opinions are not to be eradicated by severity. If the puritans were silenced in the church, they had still access to the senate; and, as soon as the parliament opened, not fewer than seven bills, for a further reformation, were introduced into the lower house. To the queen such conduct appeared an act of

\* Wilk. Con. iv. 246, 247. Strype's Parker, 158.

high treason against her supremacy; and, during the Easter recess, Strickland, the mover of the bills, received an order to withdraw, and to attend the pleasure of the council. After the adjournment, his absence was noticed by his colleagues. It was moved that he should be April called to the bar of the house, that he might state the 20. reason of his absence: he was not a private individual, but the representative of his constituents; the prohibition which he had received was an injury to the country, a violation of parliamentary privilege; if it was tamely submitted to by the house, it would form a most dangerous precedent; as the queen could not make the law, so she had no right to break it; her prerogative was, indeed, to be maintained, but it should be confined within reasonable limits; that house could determine the right to the crown, certainly it could entertain motions respecting religious ceremonies. Language, so bold and so unusual, electrified the members; the obstinacy of the ministers flinched before the untamable spirit of their opponents; and, after a consultation in whispers, the speaker moved that the debate should be suspended. The next morning Strickland appeared in his place, and was received with loud congratulations\*.

This victory was owing to that tone of mind which religious enthusiasm always imparts. It formed a new era in the history of the house of commons. The members learned to cherish their privileges, to think more highly of their own importance, to resist, with greater confidence, the arbitrary pretensions of the crown. Yet it is observable, that these very men, who thus, through religious motives, braved the resentment of their sovereign, possessed, in reality, no notions of

\* D'Ewes's Journal, 156. 175. 176. An act was, however, passed, to compel all clergymen to subscribe, and declare their unfeigned assent to, the thirty-nine articles. The judges interpreted it to mean all the articles without exception; but the puritans, relying on the obvious signification of the words, "all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments," maintained that no assent was required to the articles, which regarded discipline. Stat. of Realm, iv. 546. See Collier, ii. 530. Neal, c. v.

religious liberty. When Aglionby, in opposition to the bill for compelling all persons to receive the communion, pleaded the rights of conscience, he was told by some, "that it was no straitening of consciences, but only a charge on the goods of those who would not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, good men and true christians;" by others, that it was the duty of the house to make the law; if men were froward, or ignorant, or obstinate, let *them* look to the consequences. They had no one to blame but themselves\*.

May 29. The queen, however, did not suffer her opponents to depart without a severe reprimand. On the dissolution of the parliament, the lord-keeper, by her command, informed them that their conduct was thought contrary to their duty and their place; that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered; and "that the queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly, in meddling with things not appertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understandings†."

In the meanwhile the proposal of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, though entertained on each side, made but little progress. The queen depended on the judgment of Burghley, who allowed months to pass before he could make up his mind, but at last acknowledged that it was the most eligible measure that could be adopted for the security of the throne‡. On the other hand, Philip of Spain, apprehensive that if it took place the power of England would be joined with that of France to wrest the Netherlands from his dominions, resolved to spare neither pains nor cost in raising up ene-

\* D'Ewes's Journal, 161. 177.

† Ibid 151.—During this session an attempt was made by a Mr. Norton to obtain the sanction of parliament for the new code of canon law composed in the reign of Edward VI., which was now published with a preface by Foxe, the martyr-logist. But it was opposed by the puritans, who were unwilling to add to the power of the bishops, and by the queen's ministers, who deemed the project derogatory from her authority.

‡ Leicester tells Fénelon that Burghley ne veut en façon du monde que sa mestresse ayt, ni lui (Leicester), ni nul autre mary que soy mesmes, qui est Roy plus qu'elle.—Fénelon, iii. 462. Il y est tres affectionné (iv. 156. 190).

mies to the project. His agents, to win the friendship of Elizabeth, yielded to all her demands; consented that she should keep the treasure taken from the ships, and arrange with the bankers from whom Philip had borrowed it, and even agreed to pay to her a large sum, as compensation for the merchandize seized at Antwerp. At the same time they urged on the consideration of the more zealous protestants the danger to which their religion would be exposed, if, at the death of the queen, a catholic prince should be left in possession of the throne; attempted to purchase the services of influential persons in the council and the household, by offers of pensions and gratuities; and made presents of jewelry and money to the ladies of the court most in the confidence of the sovereign\*. Though Elizabeth herself appeared to feel a pleasure in talking of her approaching nuptials, still she often betrayed the habitual indecision of her character. One day she was determined to marry: she would sacrifice her own feelings in favour of a single life to the welfare of her people, in the hope that by leaving to them an heir of her body she might save them from the evils of a disputed succession; on the next day it was her determination not to marry: she was too old to captivate the fancy of a young prince, and too wise to condemn herself to a life of jealousy and domestic bickering†. Shortly, however, it turned out that the real objector was Anjou himself. He had, indeed, at the command of his brother, professed an earnest wish for the success of the negotiation; he had even gone so far as to let the queen know that in his estimation "she was the most perfect beauty that God had "made during the last five hundred years‡." But he could not conceal his dissimulation from the keen eye of his mother Catharine, who ascribed his reluctance to the counsels of his favourites Lignerolles, Villequier, and Sarterty. They, however, were saved from her vengeance by

\* Fénelon, iv. 220. 302.

† Ibid. iv. 13. 23. 107. 190. 219. 239.

‡ Digges, 101.

§ Fénelon, vii. 234.

a dispute which grew out of the treaty itself. When almost every other article had been settled, the duke required the insertion of a clause securing to him the free exercise of his religion. This the queen was advised to refuse, as contrary to law. He then required a promise to the same effect in her handwriting\*. She returned another refusal, on the receipt of which Anjou replied, that, then, he must resign the honour which she had offered to him ; for his religion was as dear to him as hers might be to her. She could not conceal her disappointment, and peevishly observed that he was too hasty ; he might have been content with her bare word ; she could have done for him what she did for the catholic peers, who, with her connivance, had mass celebrated in their own houses. Probably her vexation was not lessened by the recollection of Anjou's refusal at the very outset. She would still suspect that, notwithstanding his denial, he continued to give credit to the scandalous tales respecting her amours with Leicester and Hatton†.

Burghley, however, was not left without resource. On the treaty of marriage he had been careful to engraft a second treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, from which he proposed to derive all the benefits which could have been derived from the marriage itself. To this the council now clung, as to the last plank, according to their own language, which could save them from destruction. A long negotiation ensued ; months were employed to decide the insertion or exclusion of a single word ; and at length the treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of the English cabinet‡.

All the suitors of Mary Stuart appear to have treated

\* Fénelon, vii. 252.

† See *Ibid.* iv. from p. 305 to p. 354, and the correspondence of Leicester and Burghley with Walsingham. Digges, 63. 65. 71. 110. 115, 116. 133. 139. 153. 161. 166. 196.

‡ Camden, ii. 265. The great difficulty was, that Elizabeth wished to have inserted in the article which bound the king of France to give her aid in case of an invasion these words, "though the invasion be made on account of religion." It was objected, that so open an assertion would give offence to all catholic sovereigns ; and the queen at last accepted the treaty with the following amendment : "in all cases of invasion whatsoever." The king gave, in addition, a written explanation, that invasion on account of religion was comprehended in these words. Digges, 155, et seq. Murdin, 213.

with her as if she were a single woman, and at full liberty to marry. But was she not actually the wife of earl Bothwell? This question seems to have claimed her attention at the time of her engagement to the duke of Norfolk. She confided the secret particulars of her unhappy marriage with Bothwell to the bishop of Ross, who appears to have pronounced it null and void on two grounds,—1. Because her verbal consent had been extorted by the violence and brutality of the earl, and, 2. Because Bothwell himself was, at the time, a married man, notwithstanding his pretended divorce from Janet Gordon\*. Originally it was intended that Ross should proceed to Rome, to procure an authoritative opinion from the pope; but he was detained in London during the conferences about the end of 1570, in which he acted as Mary's representative, aided with the advice of Ridolphi and the Spanish ambassador. When it became manifest that the conferences were merely a delusion, these three foreigners arranged among themselves the plan of another insurrection in favour of the Scottish queen. But the failure of the last had taught them an important lesson,—the necessity of a previous understanding with the foreign prince on whose coöperation they relied. For this purpose Ridolphi offered his services; so extensive, he said, were his mercantile and monetary concerns, that he was well known in every country in Europe; nor was there a court which he might not visit without exciting any reasonable cause of suspicion in the English cabinet.

In the beginning of February Mary Stuart received from him a letter, in which he advised her to put no more trust in the pretended friendship of Elizabeth, but to send an agent to the princes her friends on the continent, to solicit their aid; then detailed at length the qualities which such agent ought to possess,—qualities which evidently in his opinion centred in his own person†. Mary

\* See *Lettres de Marie*, iii. 57; *Apuntamientos*, 219. Camden tells us that the pope had already annulled her marriage with Bothwell.—*Camd.* 217. But that cannot be; for we find her soliciting a divorce much later by means of Ridolphi.

† From an original document in cipher, indorsed "*Memoire de ce que le*



replied in cipher to the bishop of Ross, that Philip of Spain was the only crowned head from whom, in existing circumstances, she could hope for effectual succour; that she knew of no one fitter to be employed in obtaining it than Ridolphi, "under colour of his traffique;" that the great difficulty which he would have to remove would arise from the religion of the duke of Norfolk, whom she had engaged to marry; but that they must consult the duke, and be governed by his advice. This letter is of importance, as it bore a great share in the production of the tragedy which followed\*.

Norfolk had been released from the Tower in the month of August, and was now in his own house, but under the custody of Sir Henry Neville. To him, therefore, the conspirators had no access; but Ross had made a friend of a gentleman of his household, named Barker, through whom he forwarded messages to the duke. It was evident that Ridolphi, to succeed in his mission, must take credentials from the parties who sent him. From Mary credentials were soon obtained, fabricated, probably, in London, but ratified with her signature. In them she was made to state, that her friends in England had determined to risk their lives and fortunes, for the double purpose of establishing her right to the succession, and of restoring the exercise of the catholic worship; that the duke of Norfolk, the first in rank and the highest in popularity of the English peerage, had placed himself at their head; that the only thing wanting to the success of the enterprise was military and pecuniary aid, which she hoped to obtain from the royal feelings and catholic zeal of foreign princes; that no objection ought to be made on account of the protestant religion of the duke, for it would be impolitic for him to declare himself a catholic now; his past conduct had proved him to be a friend to catholics, and his future conduct would display a devoted obedience to the commands of the pontiff and the Spanish monarch. The

seigneur Ridolphi a fait entendre a la Roynne," in the possession of the Right Rev. Dr. Kyle, Presholm, in Banffshire.

\* Lettres de Marie, iii. 180.

amount of the aid to be granted she would leave to the duke himself, and ended with a request to the pontiff that he would judicially declare the nullity of her forced marriage with Bothwell\*.

At the same time a letter of credence from the duke of Norfolk was fabricated for Ridolphi, undoubtedly by the same individuals. The duke was made to say that in the name of the queen of Scots, of himself, and of the greater part of the English nobility, whose names were registered in another paper, he authorized Ridolphi to solicit the aid of the pope and of Philip in favour of the very important enterprise, at the head of which he had been placed†. Its object was to establish the right of that princess; to restore the ancient worship; to free her, and himself, and the catholics of England, from the persecutions which they suffered, and to remove from the government that knot of Huguenots who, to disseminate their own religion, were constantly fomenting and maintaining religious wars in every neighbouring catholic country. It was true that he had not declared himself, because he would not forfeit the services of his protestant friends; but he pledged himself to be hereafter ordered on that subject by the pope and the king, if with their assistance he should succeed in his attempt. The succour which he requested must amount to six thousand musketeers, two thousand pikemen, twenty-five field-pieces, four thousand spare muskets for volunteers, a sufficiency of military stores, and officers experienced in the art of war. If such an army could be spared from the Spanish garrisons in the Netherlands, he would join them on their arrival at Harwich in Norfolk,

\* *Lettres de Marie*, iii. 222—253. Prince Labanoff has published the credentials of both Mary and Norfolk, from the Archives of the Vatican, where they had remained in secrecy two hundred and seventy years. For the Spanish copies left by Ridolphi at Madrid see *Apuntamientos*, 215; and *Memorias*, vii. 360.

† Io d'ogni mio interesse, et in nome della maggior parte de nobili di questo regno, delli quali con questa havete li nomi particolari di ciascuno. Ridolphi left with this letter a list of names, but undoubtedly for the purpose of deception. Instead of being a list of those in whose name he was said to have been sent, it turns out to be a list of the peerage, with the peers divided into three classes,—of thirty-nine favourable to the marriage of Norfolk with the queen of Scots, of six hostile to it, and of fifteen indifferent. It was a paper evidently drawn up a year before the mission of Ridolphi.

or at Portsmouth in Sussex, with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. In short, to rid themselves from the evils which they suffered, the duke and his friends were resolved to risk the issue of a battle even with their own forces, and to make themselves masters, if it were possible, of the person of Elizabeth, to keep her as security for the life of the queen of Scots\*.

There is much to throw doubt and distrust upon the authenticity of this document. The astounding assertion that the duke was deputed by the majority of the English nobility to solicit from the king of Spain an invasion of the kingdom, the vapouring boast that he would join the invaders with an army of more than twenty thousand men, and the geographical errors which place Harwich in Norfolk, and Portsmouth in Sussex, must certainly be attributed to the three foreigners, the originators of the conspiracy and the real fabricators of the letter. If we may believe the subsequent confessions of Ross and Barker, the instructions for Ridolphi were devised by Ross and Ridolphi; Barker was repeatedly sent by Ross to the duke with messages, both verbal and written, and to most of them the duke, probably that he might not compromise himself, returned no other answer than the unmeaning monosyllable *well*. The letter of credit appears to have been framed after this manner, for it reads more like a cento of scraps and patches than a continuous composition; and to have been moulded into its present shape in proportion as new intelligence was received from Barker. Whether it was ever communicated to the duke in its entirety is unknown; that it was never subscribed by him is certain. It has no signature, but a promise that the duke will avow the original to the Spanish ambassador. That he never made, or authorized any one to make, such an avowal, is solemnly protested. It was, however, deposited, so we are told, with the ambassador, and conse-

\* At the duke's trial it was maintained that he had authorized Ridolphi to declare to the pope and king of Spain that he was a catholic. It is plain, however, from the manner in which the subject of religion is treated in both letters of credence, that the conspirators could not obtain his consent to that.

quently with its real authors. Who can prove that it did not, even after that, receive improvements, or that the Italian and Spanish versions left by Ridolphi in Rome and Madrid—the only copies which we possess—were correct representations of that which is called the original letter?

With these credentials Ridolphi set out on his important mission. He waited first on the duke of Alva, of whose concurrence much doubt was entertained, both on account of his decided apathy during the last insurrection in the north, and the earnestness with which he now advocated a marriage between Mary Stuart and Don Juan of Austria, in opposition to that intended between her and the duke of Norfolk. Alva received the envoy courteously, listened with apparent interest to his proposals, and then returned this evasive answer, that he was ready to obey the orders of his sovereign the king of Spain. In reality he saw little prospect of success in the plan, and had formed a very contemptible notion of the agent, whom, in his despatches to Madrid, he denominated a babbling gossip\*. Ridolphi, before his departure from Brussels, entrusted a parcel of letters to the care of Bailey, a Belgian, and sworn servant of Mary Stuart. Bailey was arrested at Dover, and found to have with him a bag of letters and a box of books belonging to the bishop of Ross. But the bishop was on the watch. With the connivance of the lord Cobham, warden of the Cinq ports, he contrived that the books should be sent unopened to the council, but kept the bag himself, and had the letters deciphered in London by Cuthbert, his secretary. The most important was addressed to the duke of Norfolk, containing an account of Ridolphi's negotiation with Alva, and his hopes of success with the king of Spain. Aware of the probable consequences, Ross immediately sent his secretary for concealment to the house of the French ambassador†, and destroyed or secreted every dangerous paper

\* Un gran parlanchin. *Memoiras*, 359. *Apuntamientos*, 111.

† Cuthbert was secure there for a time; thence he was transferred to the house of the Spanish ambassador, and escaped to Flanders. *Apuntamientos*, 118.

in his possession. Bailey on the rack disclosed all that he knew : that the letters had been written by himself at the dictation of Ridolphi ; that they contained accounts of Ridolphi's interviews with the duke of Alva, and of his intention to continue his mission ; and that they were addressed to Mary Stuart, to the bishop of Ross, and to two unknown English noblemen, designated in cipher by the numbers 30 and 40. Suspicion was now aroused. Ross was arrested ; his house was searched, but his secretary had fled ; his papers were found to be of the most innoxious description, and Ross himself very frankly owned that he had taken advantage of the journey of Ridolphi to request assistance for the Scottish friends of his sovereign from the duke of Alva and foreign princes, and that the two ciphers (which in reality represented the lord Lumley and the duke of Norfolk) stood for the Spanish ambassador and the queen of Scots. He was too well known to be implicitly believed ; yet he succeeded ; for the clue was now lost. Neither Mary Stuart nor the Spanish ambassador could be subjected to compulsory examination. Ross was placed, however, in confinement with the bishop of Ely\*.

From Brussels Ridolphi hastened to Rome, where his success was very indifferent. The pontiff (Pius V.) placed at his disposal a sum of money for the use of the parties, promised to recommend the enterprise to the favourable consideration of the king of Spain, and entrusted him with a letter to the duke of Norfolk assuring that nobleman of his good will, and regretting that circumstances rendered it impossible for him to afford more plentiful aid during the current year.

But it was on his reception at the court of Madrid that the issue of the enterprise depended. He reached that capital on the 3rd of July, and delivered his credentials to the secretary Zayas. The council of state was at a loss to understand them. Philip appointed a *junto* of six

\* See lord Burghley's letter to lord Shrewsbury, of May 14 ; Lodge, ii. 54 ; Murdin, 36. 47. 100. 111. 118. 143. 169. 174 ; Fénelon, iv. 108. 112. 151 ; Camden, 235.

members to require explanations; and Ridolphi, in his answers to their interrogatories, entered into matters which probably had no other origin than the suggestions made by the three conspirators themselves in their private consultations. He said that the catholics\* were resolved to get possession of the queen's person, and to put her to death; that the opportunity would be offered in some of her visits to private houses in the country; that one of those who offered to strike the blow was the marquese Vitelli†; that for the success of the enterprise they expected the aid of Philip, which might be afforded, without exciting suspicion, from the fleet which should conduct Alva from Flanders to Spain; that he was sure of the co-operation of the duke of Norfolk, of the earls of Worcester and Southampton, of the lords Montague, Windsor, and Lumley, and several others; that Bacon, Cecil, Leicester and Northampton, were also marked out for destruction; and that there was no reason to fear for the safety of the queen of Scots during the insurrection, because the guard had been won over, and she had many catholics about her‡.

This statement, so improbable in itself, and so contradictory in several points to the credentials, did not dispel the doubts of the council. Philip was already possessed with the notion that Ridolphi might be an impostor in the pay of the English government§, and his perplexity was increased by the opposition between the letters of the pope and those from the duke of Alva. The pope most earnestly exhorted him not to forfeit this favourable opportunity of placing the rightful heir on the throne, and of

\* [A political, not religious denomination, as explained above.]

† Vitelli was a distinguished officer in the Spanish service, and the commissioner sent by Alva to treat respecting the restitution of the Spanish treasure. He was received most graciously by Elizabeth; but the insurrection soon afterwards broke out in the north, which rendered his stay in England an object of suspicion to Cecil. Many insults were offered to him, to drive him away; but he remained till the end of December, and then took his leave. He is frequently noticed by Fénelon in his despatches from October to the end of the year. Why Ridolphi should represent him as an assassin does not appear.

‡ Memorias, vii. 358. 362. 441. 457. Apuntamientos, 112, 113.

§ El creia que era todo invencion de Isabel para por este medio tener con que colorar su danada intension. Philip to Espés, in July, Memorias, 360.

restoring the ancient worship in England ; the duke conjured him to take no part in an attempt devised by men without knowledge or experience, and made to depend upon promises which could never be performed. After  
 Aug. much hesitation, Philip yielded to the authority of the  
 4. pontiff and the advice of a portion of his council ; he went so far as to form a plan of the enterprise, fixed on Vitelli  
 Sept. as commander of the invading force, and replied in writ-  
 14. ing to the objections made by the duke, but still left the final determination to his local knowledge and more mature experience. That Alva would at last have sacrificed his own opinion to the wish of his sovereign, so clearly and decidedly expressed, is highly probable ; but he was relieved of his embarrassment by an accident which had already taken place in England, and which led to the complete discovery of the whole intrigue.

About the middle of August, Barker and Higford, secretaries to the duke of Norfolk, entrusted a bag containing two thousand crowns (600*l.*) to a person named Brown, a carrier from Shrewsbury, with orders to deliver it to Bannister, the duke's steward, living in the vicinity of Shrewsbury. The money came from the French ambassador, and was intended for the use of queen Mary's garrison in the castle of Edinburgh. Brown, who was probably in the pay of the council, under the pretence that there was something extraordinary in the weight of the bag, carried it to lord Burghley\*. The letters which accompanied the money showed its destination ; all the persons connected with it were in the service of the duke of Norfolk ; two circumstances which, coupled together, awakened and guided the suspicions of the council. Bannister, Barker and Higford, were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Bannister, the moment that he felt the rack, promised to answer every question ; Barker, at the sight of it, disclosed the several messages which he had taken to his lord from the bishop of Ross† ; and Higford, with apparent

\* Camden, 235. Fénelon, iv. 226, 227.

† “ And they shall not seme to you to confess playnly ther knolledg, than  
 “ we warrant you to cause them both, or ether of them, to be brought to the

willingness, not only communicated important information, but took the commissioners to the place where, instead of destroying, he had secreted several important documents. There, amid a mass of papers, were found a letter to the duke from the pontiff, several from Mary Stuart to him as her affianced husband, and her letter to the bishop of Ross, which has been already noticed, approving of the mission of Ridolphi. Norfolk, ignorant of these discoveries, assumed a bold front before the commissioners, denying most of the charges against him, and explaining away the others. The next day he was conveyed to the Tower by water, whilst small bodies of gens d'armes scoured the streets, to prevent any popular demonstration in its favour. There the depositions of his servants, and the papers which had been discovered, were laid before him. It was too late to dissemble. Abashed and confounded, he confessed that he had been made acquainted with several projects of discontented men for the surprisal of the queen, or the deliverance of Mary Stuart; that he had conferred once with Ridolphi before the departure of that agent; and that he had corresponded with the Scottish queen in defiance of the royal prohibition and breach of his own most solemn promise\*; protesting, however, that the idea of injuring the person of the sovereign, or of subjugating the kingdom to a foreign prince, had never entered his mind†. The indignation of Elizabeth was roused to the highest pitch. She inveighed in the coarsest terms against the duke's pre-

"rack; and first to move them with feare therof to deal playnly in their answers; and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be putt to the rack, and to find the tast therof untill they shall deale more playnly, or untill you shall thynk mete." "Gyven under our signet the xvth of September, 1571."—Ellis, ii. 261, 262. Of his servants the duke says, in his letter of instruction to his children, after his condemnation: "Surely Bannister dealt no way but honestly and truly. Hickford did not hurt me in my conscience willingly, nor did he charge me with any great matter that was of weight, otherwise than truly; but the bp. of Ross, and especially Barker, did falsely accuse me, and laid their own treasons on my back. God forgive them!" January 20, 1572. Tierney's Arundel, 367.

\* See in Haynes, 596.

† Camden, 236, 237. Murdin, i. 164. Anderson, iii. 149—157.



sumption and perfidy and dissimulation, and committed the prosecution of the inquiry without reserve to Burghley and Burghley's party in the council. New examinations brought forth new disclosures ; arrest followed upon arrest, and in a short time the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lord Lumley, the lord Cobham and his brother, the two sons of the earl of Derby, and a multitude of gentlemen and persons of inferior rank, were committed to prison or subjected to some of the milder forms of confinement then in use. In the star-chamber the lord-keeper explained, with due exaggeration, the presumed treasons of the duke to a numerous audience of noblemen, the lord mayor, and the aldermen ; a similar statement was made to the citizens by the remembrancer, and printed copies of the same were circulated in profusion throughout the kingdom.

There was another individual as deeply implicated as the duke, and equally the object of vengeance,—the bishop of Ross. It was known that he would plead the privilege of an ambassador, in which quality he had come under a safe-conduct to London, and had been acknowledged at the conferences respecting Mary Stuart. Ambassadors, he maintained, were privileged from arrest or punishment by the usage of every Christian country. If an ambassador gave offence, or violated the law, he might be sent out of the dominions of the offended party, and there left to the judgment of the sovereign whose representative he had been. Time was taken to consult the most eminent civilians in England and Germany. The answers from Germany were for the most part irrelevant or unsatisfactory ; the English lawyers replied, that an ambassador exciting rebellion forfeits his privilege, and becomes subject to the judgment of the offended sovereign.

Oct. 10. Ross was now brought back from his confinement in Ely, and when he pleaded his privilege was met with the answers of the crown lawyers. He began to argue, but lord Burghley cut short the discussion by declaring that he must either answer or go to the rack. He was immedi-

ately conveyed to the Tower, and a singular proclamation was issued, commanding every Scotsman to quit the kingdom within four days, under pain of imprisonment. In his cell the bishop received a message from the queen to make an entire confession for her use; it should neither do harm to him nor to any one else. Under this promise, he gave a long answer to all the chief charges, but in such a manner as on every point to vindicate or excuse the conduct of Mary Stuart, the duke of Norfolk, and himself\*.

Oct.  
25.

These explanations were calculated to stimulate instead of satisfying the queen's curiosity. She now required the duke "to search himself," and to disclose to her the whole truth of his intrigue with the Scottish queen. He obeyed, and in his narrative of the proceedings introduced several particulars which appeared to shift great part of the blame from his shoulders to those of the royal favourite, the earl of Leicester†. It was Leicester who suggested to him the marriage with Mary; Leicester who wrote to that princess in favour of it; Leicester who promised to break the matter to Elizabeth, and obtain her consent. Hitherto the chief hope of the duke rested on the advocacy of the earl; after the receipt of this narrative Leicester appears to have abandoned him to his fate, if he did not even join his enemies against him‡. Preparations were now made for his trial; an indictment for high treason was found against him at the sessions§, and to prepare the public mind care was taken that the pulpit should every where resound with invectives against Alva,

Nov.  
10.

28.

\* Notwithstanding the queen's promise, he was asked to appear as a witness at the trial of the duke. He refused. It was then resolved to bring him to trial for his life, but he had the good fortune to escape, through the repeated intercession of the king of France. Two years elapsed before he could obtain his liberty (1573, November 18), and then only on condition that he should never more set his foot on English ground. He retired to France. See Camden, 237; Fénelon, iv. 266; v. 392, 451; Digges, 151.

† See his narrative in Murdin, dated November 10.

‡ Fénelon says that Leicester was so offended, que la, ou auparavant il monstroit de luy estre amy, il semble a cette heure, qu'il luy veuille estre bien fort contraire; ce qui luy pourra beaucoup nuire. Fénelon, iv. 292.

§ Ibid. 295.

the king of Spain, the pontiff, and the catholic powers in general.

At length the queen appointed the earl of Shrewsbury lord high steward, that he might preside at the duke's trial, and gave to him four assessors, who immediately summoned six-and-twenty peers, all selected by the ministers, and including several who were known enemies of the prisoner\*. Of that, however, he could not complain; for the jurisprudence of the age repudiated the notion that on such grave and solemn occasions noble peers could possibly be influenced by their prejudices or antipathies. Before this court Norfolk was charged with imagining and compassing the death of his own sovereign: 1°. By seeking to marry the queen of Scots, who claimed the crown of England, to the exclusion of Elizabeth; 2°. By soliciting foreign powers to invade the realm, through the agency of Ridolphi; 3°. By sending money to the aid of the English rebels, and of the Scottish enemies of the queen. The duke maintained his innocence on every count. The queen of Scots was not the competitor of his sovereign. As soon as she became her own mistress she laid aside the title of queen of England, and repeatedly offered to renounce it in the most ample form, if Elizabeth would acknowledge her undoubted claim to the succession. 1. He had never spoken with Ridolphi but once; and then he understood that the sole object of the Italian's mission was to procure aid for the Scottish subjects of the Scottish queen. 2. He had never sent money to the English rebels; and, though he

\* A few days before, Berners and Mather were apprehended at the instance of Herle, their associate. From their several examinations it appears that all three were discontented men, who complained that under the existing government nothing could be obtained by any others than "dancers and carnet knights;" men, such as Leicester and Hutton, who were "admitted to the queen's privy chamber." They had often conversed on the means by which the duke of Norfolk might be liberated, on the murder of his enemy the lord Burghley, and on the pre'erment to be expected under a new sovereign. But there appears no trace of any plot for the actual execution of such purposes. Mather said the death of Burghley had been proposed to him by the Spanish ambassador. It was denied, and equivalently recalled by himself. Berners and Mather suffered; Herle saved his life by becoming informer; though Mather told him that, if another hour had passed, he himself meant to have informed against Herle and Berners. Mardin, 194—210. Digges, 165. Camden, 234.

had allowed his servant to take the charge of a sum of money for the lord Herries, he conceived that he had done no wrong; for Herries was the devoted servant of Mary, and Mary the acknowledged ally of Elizabeth. On all these points he spoke with temper, decision, and eloquence\*.

The history of this trial will show how difficult it was, according to the jurisprudence of the age, for any prisoner to escape conviction under a prosecution by the crown. The duke of Norfolk had been a close prisoner in the Tower during eighteen weeks. He had been deprived of the use of books, and debarred from all communication with his friends. He received notice of trial only the evening before his arraignment. He was kept in ignorance of the charges against him till he heard the indictment from the bar. He was refused the aid of counsel to suggest advice, or to unravel the sophistry of the crown lawyers. *They* came to the cause with the subjects of discussion prepared and digested; with a voluminous mass of papers, and with notes to aid their memory: he was called to answer, without preparation, to numerous circumstances of persons, places, conversations, and dates, which ran through the space of the three last years. The evidence against him consisted partly of letters, but principally of confessions extorted from the other prisoners, by the pain of the rack, or the hope of life†. Of these confessions only such passages

\* Howell's State Trials, i. 957—1042. Camden, 245—254. Sadler, ii. 341.

† At the trial the confessions were represented as made voluntarily. Yet, on Sept. 15, the queen, in the hand writing of Burghley, ordered the prisoners "to be put to the rack, and find the taste thereof;" and sir Thomas Smyth, in a letter of Sept. 17, says, "I suppose we have gotten so mych at this time as is lyke to be had; yet to-morrow we do intend to bryng a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get any thyng worthy that payne or feare, but because it is so earnestly commandid unto us;" and, Sept. 20, "of Banister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme feare of it, we suppose to have gotten all." Ellis, ii. 261. Murrin, 95. 101. To prevail on the bishop of Ross to confess, he was promised that his depositions should not be employed against any man; they were required merely to satisfy the queen's own mind; but it was added that if he refused, he should be most certainly executed. Anderson, iii. 199, 200. 202. Just before the trial, the master of the requests came up and required him to be present at the proceedings; he refused, saying, "I neve reconferrd with the duke myself on any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him speak one word at any time against

as bore against the prisoner were made public : whatever might furnish a presumption in his favour, or throw discredit on the witnesses, (and there is much of this description in the original papers) was carefully suppressed. But of that suppression the prisoner was kept in ignorance : and, when he maintained that credit was not due to men whose interest it was to accuse *him* that they might save their own lives, he was told that the deponents had sworn to the truth of their answers, and that his bare denial was of no weight in opposition to their oaths. He then demanded that they should be confronted with him ; and appealed to the protection granted to prisoners by the statute of Edward VI. : but it was replied that that statute “ had been found too hard and dangerous for the prince, and therefore had “ been repealed.” When the court was about to withdraw and deliberate on their judgment, a message was delivered from the queen, that she had received full confirmation of the treason from a foreign ambassador\* ; but that, as it would be imprudent to disclose it in public, the peers might learn the particulars from their colleagues of the council in private. They retired ; the new evidence was laid before them. There cannot be a doubt that in such peculiar circumstances it would make impression on many minds ; yet it could be of no value, for it amounted only to hearsay, and was kept secret from the prisoner. After an hour spent in consultation, an unanimous verdict of guilty was returned. As soon as judgment had been pronounced, the duke with a firm voice and undaunted countenance replied : “ This, my lords, is the judgment of a traitor ; but I shall “ die as true a man to the queen as any liveth. I will “ not desire you to petition for my life ; you have put me “ his duty to his prince or country ; and if I shall be forced to be present, I “ will publicly profess before the whole nobility that he never opened his “ mouth maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm.” *Ibid.* 229, 230. This design was therefore abandoned ; but great use was made of the confessions of the bishop, contrary to the previous promise.

\* But who was this ambassador ? The envoy to the duke of Alva at Antwerp, from Cosmo de Medici, grand duke of Florence. This man had learned the whole history of Ridolphi's mission from one to whom Ridolphi had disclosed it in confidence. Without loss of time he communicated the intelligence to the duke his sovereign, who forwarded his despatches to queen Elizabeth. So it appears from the account of the Spanish ambassador. See Gonzalez Apuntamientos, p. 128.

"out of your company, and I trust shortly to be in better company in heaven. I only beg that the queen's majesty will be good to my orphan children, and take orders for the payment of my debts. God doth know how true a heart I bear her and my country, whatsoever has been this day objected to me. Fare ye well, my lords\*."

In the Tower the duke confessed his undutiful conduct to the queen; but still persisted in his denial of treason†. On a Saturday Elizabeth signed the warrant for his execution on the following Monday. Late, however, on the Sunday evening, Burghley received an order to attend the queen, and found her in great perturbation of mind. She agreed with him that the guilt of the duke was great; that he deserved to die; but then he was the chief of the English nobility; he was closely allied to her in blood, each being the third in descent from Thomas Howard, the second duke of that family; she could not reconcile herself to his execution; her own happiness required that he should be spared‡. The warrant was revoked; but the ministers continued to assail her with exaggerated accounts of the danger to be apprehended from her forbearance; the preachers called for vengeance in the name of that nation and religion which the duke would have enslaved and overthrown§; and some of her greatest confidants repeatedly urged her by letter to free herself from one who, if he were forgiven, would probably repay her clemency with ingratitude. Still she hesitated; she again signed the warrant; and again, unable to sleep through April

30.

\* State Trials, i. 1032. Camd. 246—254. Mr. Jardine very justly observes that the first and third charge did not amount to treason; and that on the second, though there existed strong ground for suspicion, no proof was produced sufficient to convict the accused. p. 243.

† Murdin, 166. 168. The queen urged him to accuse others. This he refused. In his answer he observed that, if he had been confronted with "the shameless Scot, and Italianised Englishman (the bishop of Ross, and Barker), something might have been elicited to prove his innocence, and discover unknown danger; that for himself he was conscious of nothing more than he had already confessed, and that he trusted that the queen would not command him to do that (accuse others) which would do her no service, and yet heap infamy on him." Murdin, 170.

‡ Digges, 165. Her grandmother and his grandfather were both children of Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk.

§ The bishop of Lincoln reminded her in his sermon that there was often mercy in punishing, and cruelty in sparing. Wright, l. 416.

anxiety, recalled it at two o'clock in the morning\*. Leicester ventured to predict that the life of the duke would yet be saved†.

But the death of Norfolk was chiefly desired as a prelude to the death of a more illustrious victim. The queen was told that she must lay the axe "at the root of the evil;" that till the Scottish queen was consigned to the grave, neither her crown nor her life could be in security. To these suggestions she listened with caution and uneasiness. Could she put to death the bird (such was her expression) that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her feet for protection? Her honour and conscience forbade it. To subdue her repugnance, the crafty Burghley had recourse to his last expedient, the aid of parliament; the two houses obsequiously pursued the path pointed out by the secretary; and Elizabeth, to silence their murmurs, submitted to grant one part of their petition. She sacrificed the duke of Norfolk, that she might atone for her irresolution respecting the queen of Scots.

- May 16 The commons, having resolved that the life of that unfortunate nobleman was incompatible with the safety of the queen, communicated their opinion to the lords, and then resolved to present a petition, in strong and fanatical language, to the throne. But in this stage the proceedings were interrupted by a hint from one of the ministers‡. The queen had been induced to sign a third time the fatal warrant; it was not revoked; and five months after his condemnation the duke was led to

\* Murdin, 177. The note she wrote to Burghley, who had lately been made lord treasurer, shows the agitation of her mind. "The causes that move me to this are not to bee expressed, least an irrevocable deed bee in the mean while committed. If they will needs a warrant (to suspend the execution) let this suffice, all written with my own hand." Hearne's *Sylogæ*, 182. Ellis, ii. 263.

† Digges, 203. The duke in his letters affects to believe Leicester and Burghley his friends. Leicester seems to have been so; but Burghley urged his execution. Digges, 165, 166. Murdin, 212. "Your own father" was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin." Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil. *Ibid.* 811.

‡ D'Ewes's *Journals*, 206. 214. 220.

the scaffold, attended by Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and Foxe the martyrologist, formerly his tutor. He be- June 2.  
trayed no symptoms of terror; and in his speech to the spectators, in which he was repeatedly interrupted by the officers, asserted his innocence of treason, and his profession of the reformed faith. His head was struck off at a single blow. The people retired, compassionating his fate, and questioning his guilt\*.

The death of the queen of Scots was next sought with equal obstinacy. To influence the minds of the members, care had been taken to circulate among them papers of different descriptions, but all tending to the same end; the slanderous publication of Buchanan, printed copies of the supposed letters, and the manuscript opinions of divines who demonstrated from Scripture that it was a duty, of civilians who proved from the imperial code that it was lawful, and of an unknown casuist, who argued that "it stood not only with justice, but with the "honour and safety of Elizabeth," to send the Scottish queen to the scaffold†. Both houses resolved to proceed May against her by bill of attainder: the queen forbade it; 19 they disobeyed; and she repeated the prohibition‡.

\* Strype, App. 27. Camden, 225. "I never had conference but once "with one Rodolph, and yet never against the queen's majesty, God is my "judge, although many lewd offers and motions were made to me. For it "is well known I had to do with him, by reason I was bound to him by "recognizance for a great sum of money." State Trials, i. 1032.

† The political writings of the age were generally seasoned with a due proportion of religious cant. An instance has been preserved by D'Ewes, in his journals of this parliament. A writing, supposed to have had great influence on the house of commons, proves by five arguments, supported with texts of Scripture, that Elizabeth is bound in conscience to put Mary to death: 1°. because the queen of Scots is guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy; 2°. because she is an idolater, and leads others to idolatry; 3°. because she was delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by God's providence, for the purpose of punishment; 4°. because rulers are obliged to execute justice impartially; 5°. because it is their duty to preserve the public tranquillity. See it in D'Ewes, p. 207—212.

‡ D'Ewes, 200. 207—224. Burghley thus expresses his disappointment: "There is in the highest person such slowness in the offer of surety, and "such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased the surety should "proceed. Shame doth as much trouble me as the rest, that all persons "shall behold our follies, imputing these lacks and errors to some of us "that are accounted inward counsellors, where indeed the fault is not;



Foiled in this attempt, the ministers adopted another course: they introduced a bill, which, by rendering Mary incapable of the succession, secured them from the danger of her resentment, if she should survive the May present sovereign. They were, however, opposed by a  
 28. powerful but invisible counsellor, suspected, though not known, to be the earl of Leicester. The queen interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown, and seeing that, in defiance of the message, the bill had  
 June passed both houses, she prorogued the parliament\*.  
 25. For her own satisfaction, however, she had appointed  
 May. commissioners to lay her complaints before the Scottish queen, who replied that, if she had consented to marry the duke, it had been without any hostile meaning towards her good sister; that her correspondence with Ridolphi had been strictly confined to pecuniary transactions, that from foreign powers she had never solicited anything more than aid for her faithful subjects in Scotland, and that she had not been privy in any manner to the bull of deposition or to the northern rebellion†.

Whatever Elizabeth might think of these answers, the execution of the duke and the proceedings in parliament disheartened the friends of Mary in England, while, at the same time, her interest was rapidly declining in her native  
 1571. country. Lennox, the regent, had exercised his authority with rigour: execution after execution alarmed the friends of the queen; and the unexpected surprisal of the strong fortress of Dumbarton threw into his hands the most active of Mary's partisans, John Hamilton, brother of the duke of Chastelherault, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and formerly papal legate in Scotland. The prisoner was hurried  
 "and yet they must be suffered, and be so imputed, for saving the honour  
 "of the highest." May 21. Digges, 203.

\* See the journals of both houses. In neither of them is any mention of the contents of the bill passed against Mary; but we learn from Burghley that it was "a law to make her unable and unworthy of succession to the crown." He adds, "some here have, as it seemeth, abused their favour about her majesty to make herself her most enemy. God amend them! I will not write to you, who are suspected. I am sorry for them," "and so would you too, if you thought the suspicion to be true." Ibid. 219.

† The complaints or charges are in Murdin, 218; the answers in Camden, 260. *Lettres de Marie*, iv. 48—50.

ried away to Stirling, and hanged on a gibbet at the market-cross. By the more moderate of the party this murder was condemned as a foul act of family vengeance. To lessen the odium, lord Ruthven had previously accused the prelate of having been accessory to the murder of Darnley ; but, though he denied the charge, and claimed the benefit of a legal trial, no respite was granted him, because his enemies feared that a reclamation would be made in his favour by the queen of England. His fate did not, however, break the spirit of Kirkaldy, who refused to admit the regent within the walls of Edinburgh ; and by repeated assaults compelled him and his adherents, whom he had summoned to hold a parliament in the suburbs, to withdraw to Stirling. There Lennox opened the session with a long harangue, in presence of the young king\*, and passed an act of forfeiture against the duke and his two sons, and against the earl of Huntley, Kirkaldy, and several others : but on the eighth day, at an early hour in the morning, Sept. 1. Huntley, Claude Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleugh, appeared with four hundred horse before the gate of the town. "Remember the archbishop," was the word given to the soldiers. In a few minutes all the lords were in the hands of the assailants. Lennox paid the forfeit of his life ; the others were rescued by the timely arrival of the earl of Marr, whom, in reward for his services, they 1572. invested with the regency. His prudence and vigour rendered him a formidable antagonist ; Elizabeth declared openly her intention to support him with the whole power of her crown ; and the avowed adherents of Mary dwindled away to a handful of brave and resolute men, who, under Kirkaldy, still kept for her the castle of Edinburgh, and a band of Highlanders, who, commanded by sir Adam Gordon, maintained the ascendancy of her cause in the mountains †.

\* "During the regent's speiche to the estaits, the king looked up, and "espayed a hole in the rouffe of the housse, by the laicke of some sklaitts, "and after the regent had endit his harrang, he said, 'I think there is ane "hole in this parliament.'" These words were afterwards taken for a prediction of the death of Lennox. Balfour, i. 351.

† Robertson, App. 2. No. iv. Bannatyne, 120. 154. 256. Act Parl. in. 58. Camden, 227. 240.

To add to the sorrows of the captive queen, the executions of the duke of Norfolk in England and of the archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland were followed by that of her devoted adherent, the earl of Northumberland. The English queen came forward to bid against the countess for the possession of the prisoner. She offered an equal sum of money, and Marr, the regent, with the earl of Morton, hesitated not to violate the pledge given to an exiled woman, that he might gratify his powerful neighbour. This determination, however, was kept a secret from the earl. He left Lochleven with joy, under the assurance that he should be conveyed in a Scottish vessel to Antwerp. To his surprise and dismay, he found himself, after a short voyage, at Coldingham. On the same day the money, the price of his blood, was numbered and sealed at Berwick; and lord Hunsdon, taking with him the bag of gold, exchanged it for Northumberland at Ayemouth. Numerous interrogations were sent from London, to which he returned answers; but when Hunsdon was ordered to take him for execution to York that nobleman, who looked on the whole transaction as disgraceful, refused, and the unwelcome task was transferred to sir John Foster, who possessed the earl's estates in Northumberland. At York he was

Aug. beheaded without trial, in virtue of the act of attainder.

22. On the scaffold he refused the aid of the clergyman, professed himself a catholic, and declared that he had satisfactorily replied to every charge against him, in his answers to the council †.

The English cabinet, amid the alarms with which it was continually perplexed, rested with much confidence on the treaty lately concluded with France. To cultivate the friendship between the two crowns, Elizabeth had been advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with

Jan. his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The former

17.

\* Murdin, 186. 193. Memorias, 451. 457.

† See Bridgewater's Concertatio, 46—49. Camden, 269. The interrogatories are in Murdin, 219; the earl's answers in Sharp's Memorials of the Rebellion.

was the leader of the catholic party; the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of protestantism. There were, indeed, two almost insuperable objections; the disparity of age, for the duke was twenty-one years younger than the queen; and the want of attraction in a face which had suffered severely from the small-pox, and was disfigured by an extraordinary enlargement of the nose\*. Still Elizabeth, with her usual irresolution, entertained the project; and her ministers, supported by the French protestants, urged its acceptance†. But their hopes were unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The reader has already seen that the ambition of the French princes had marshalled, in hostile array, the professors of the old and new doctrines against each other. In the contests which followed, the influence of religious animosity was added to those passions which ordinarily embitter domestic warfare‡. The most solemn compacts were often broken; outrages the most barbarous were reciprocally perpetrated without remorse: murder was retaliated with murder, massacre with massacre. The king, by the last edict of pacification, had, indeed, sheathed the swords of the two parties: but he had not obliterated the sense of former wrongs, nor appeased the desire of revenge which still rankled in their breasts. They continued to view each

\* François d'Alençon fut extrêmement défiguré par la petite vérole. Son nez bourgeonné devint hideux sur la fin de ses jours. En raison de sa grosseur, il sembloit qu'il en eut deux greffés l'un sur l'autre. Ces deux nez (Le Laboureur, l. 702) tombèrent de pourriture. When he went to Flanders these verses were made.

“Flamands, ne soyez étonnez,  
Si à François voyez deux nez.  
Car par droit, raison et usage,  
Faut deux nez à double visage.”

Observ. sur les Mém. de Henri, Duc de  
Bouillon, tom. 47. p. 459.

† Digges, 164. 195. 220. 229. 232. Ellis, 2nd Ser. iii. 7.

‡ Ce beau manteau de religion, qui a servi aux uns et aux autres pour exécuter leurs vengeances, et nous faire entremanger. Montluc, Mém. xxvi. 86

other with aversion and distrust, watchful to anticipate the designs which they attributed to their opponents, and eager, at the first provocation, real or supposed, to free themselves from their enemies.

- The young king of Navarre was the nominal, the admiral Coligny the real, leader of the huguenots. He ruled among them as an independent sovereign; and, what chiefly alarmed his opponents, seemed to obtain gradually the ascendancy over the mind of Charles. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre, and was wounded in two places by an assassin as he passed through the streets. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans; it had proceeded, in reality (and was so suspected by Coligny himself), from Catherine, the queen mother. The wounds were not dangerous: but the huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel; their threats of vengeance terrified the queen; and in a secret council the king was persuaded to anticipate the bloody and traitorous designs attributed to the friends of the admiral.
- Aug. 22. 24. The next morning, by the royal order, the hotel was forced: Coligny and his principal counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood; and every huguenot, or suspected huguenot, who fell in their way, was murdered. Several days elapsed before order was finally restored in the capital: in the provinces the governors, though instructed to prevent similar excesses, had not always the power or the will to check the fury of the people, and the massacre of Paris was imitated in several towns, principally those in which the passions of the inhabitants were inflamed by the recollection of the barbarities exercised amongst them by the huguenots during the late wars\*.

This bloody tragedy had been planned and executed in Paris with so much expedition, that its authors had

\* See Note (C).

not determined on what ground to justify or palliate their conduct. In the letters written the same evening to the governors of the provinces, and to the ambassadors of foreign courts, it was attributed to the ancient quarrel and insatiate hatred which existed between the princes of Lorraine and the house of Coligny\*. But, as the duke of Guise refused to take the infamy on himself, the king was obliged to acknowledge in parliament that he had signed the order for the death of the admiral, and sent in consequence to his ambassadors new and more detailed instructions. In a long audience, La Motte Fénélon assured Elizabeth that Charles had conceived no idea of such an event before the preceding evening, when he learned, with alarm and astonishment, that the confidential advisers of the admiral had formed a plan to revenge the attempt made on his life, by surprising the Louvre, making prisoners of the king and the royal family, and putting to death the duke of Guise, and the leaders of the catholics; that the plot was revealed to one of the council, whose conscience revolted from such a crime; that his deposition was confirmed in the mind of the king, by the violent and undutiful expressions uttered by Coligny in the royal presence; that, having but the interval of a few hours to deliberate, he had hastily given permission to the duke of Guise and his friends to execute justice on his and their enemies; and that if, from the excited passions of the populace, some innocent persons had perished with the guilty, it had been done contrary to his intention, and had given him the most heartfelt sorrow. The insinuating eloquence of Fénélon made an impression on the mind of Elizabeth: she ordered her ambassador to thank Charles for the communication; trusted that he would be able to satisfy the world of the uprightness of

\* Digges, 264. Ceulx de la maison de Guise, et les aultres seigneurs et gentils hommes, qui leur adherent, ayant scu certainement, que les amis dudit admiral vouloient poursuivre sur eulx la vengeance de ceste blessure pour les soupçonner, à ceste cause et occasion se sont si fort esmus ceste nuit passé, &c. Letter to Joyeuse, apud Caveirac, xxxii.

his intention ; and recommended to his protection the persons and worship of the French protestants. To the last point Catherine shrewdly replied that her son could not follow a better example than that of his good sister the queen of England ; that, like her, he would force no man's conscience ; but, like her, he would prohibit in his dominions the exercise of every other worship besides that which he practised himself\*.

The news of this sanguinary transaction, exaggerated as it was by the imagination of the narrators and the arts of politicians, excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm, in the minds of the protestants, the reports so industriously spread, of a catholic conspiracy for their destruction ; and it gave additional weight to the arguments of Burghley and the other enemies of the queen of Scots. They admonished Elizabeth to provide for her own security ; the French protestants had been massacred ; her deposition or murder would follow. If she tendered her own life, the weal of the realm, or the interest of religion, let her disappoint the malice of her enemies by putting to death her rival, and *their* ally, Mary Stuart†.

Sept. 7. The queen did not reject the advice : but, that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative and presumptive heir, Killegrew was despatched to Edinburgh, ostensibly to compose the difference between the regent Morton on the one part, and the earl of Huntley on the other, respecting the terms of an armistice which had been lately concluded between them : but, under that cover, to call the attention of the protestant lords to the late massacres in France, to inform them that the queen was afraid, or rather all but certain, that these had been premeditated, in consequence of the league said to

\* Digges, 244. 246.

† The death of Mary was advised on the 5th of September, by Sandys, bishop of London. " Furthwith to cutte off the Scottish quene's heade : "  
" ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas." Ellis, 2nd Ser. iii. 25.

exist among the catholic powers for the extirpation of the reformed creed: to exhort them on that account to look well to themselves, to take care that none among them were seduced by bribes, none made away with by poison, and none prevailed upon to convey the young prince out of the realm: and lastly to promise in her name that, if any attempt were made against them, the queen would defend Scotland with as much care, as if it were her own inheritance\*. From these instructions Killegrew might infer that it would be his duty to excite the apprehensions, and alarm the religious prejudices, of the Scottish reformers: but for what purpose? That he was not yet permitted to know. Three days later <sup>Sept.</sup> other despatches followed, to inform him that he was <sup>10.</sup> employed "on a matter of farr greter moment, wherein "all secrecy and circumspection was to be used." That matter was to bring about the death of the queen of Scots, but from the hands of her own subjects. He was, however, warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her. He was first to ascertain the disposition of Morton and the other lords; to earn the confidence of those whom he found most apt; to lament before them that Mary was not where she might be justly executed for her crimes; and to work on their hopes and fears, till he should draw from them some expression which might lead him to suggest the object of his mission, but as of himself, and merely as a passing thought. If it were entertained, he was then authorized to negotiate a treaty on the following basis: that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, "to re-

\* See Arch. xx. 326. It is amusing to observe the caution with which these despatches are worded. Though the envoy is to persuade the Scottish lords that the massacre was premeditated, and a consequence of the league for the extirpation of the reformed faith, he is not ordered but only permitted ("you may"), to say, 1°. Not that the queen knows, but "is afraid and *in a manner* perfectly doth see it;" 2°. Not that there actually exists any such league, but that "it is said" to exist. It is plain from this document that the queen's government had no proof of the supposed league or supposed premeditation, but that they found it convenient to take both as admitted facts.



“ceave that she had deserved ther by ordre of justice;” and that they should deliver their children, or nearest kinsmen, to Elizabeth, as securities, “that no furder “perill should ensue by hir escapyng, or setting hyr up “agen : for otherwise to have hir and to keep hir was “over all other things the most dangerous\*.”

Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the prudence and fidelity of Killebrew. In Morton he found a willing coadjutor ; of Marr, the regent, it has been said that he was too honest a man to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen, and resolutely turned a deaf ear to the hints and suggestions of the envoy. Recent discoveries have, however, proved that, if at the first he affected to look upon the project as attended  
 Oct. with difficulty and peril, he afterwards entered into it most  
 19. cordially, and sought to drive a profitable bargain with Elizabeth. By the abbot of Dunfermline he required that she should take the young James under protection, and conclude a defensive league with Scotland ; that an English army of two or three thousand men should conduct the captive queen across the borders, and after her death should join with the Scots in the siege of the castle of Edinburgh ; and that the arrears of pay due to the Scottish forces should be discharged by the queen of England. On these terms he was willing to engage that Mary Stuart should not live four hours after she should arrive in Scotland. But the regent himself hardly lived four days after he had made these proposals†. He died, after a short

\* Murdin, 224.

† These particulars have been discovered by Mr. Tytler in the official correspondence, partly in the State Paper office, and partly in the British Museum.—Tytler, vii. 313. 384. It appears to me that the queen's consent to this project was extorted from her by the representations of Burghley and Leicester. She was plainly ashamed of it. She told them and Killebrew that, as they were the only persons privy to it, if it ever became known they should answer for having betrayed the secret ; and Burghley, the moment he received intelligence of the regent's death, wrote to Leicester : “I now “see the queen's majesty has no surety but as she hath been counselled” (the private execution of Mary Stuart). “If her majesty will continue her “delays, she and we will vainly call upon God when calamity shall fall upon “us.” He then complains again of her delays. Tytler, vii. 324.

illness, at Stirling, and, as his friends gave out, of poison\*.

At the election of the next regent, Killebrew employed Nov the English interest in favour of Morton, the most de- 9. termined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers†. From the moment he was chosen, he 24. pursued a very different policy from that of his predecessor. Having prevailed, through the persuasion of Elizabeth, on the Hamiltons and Gordons to acknowledge his authority, he demanded the unconditional surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy, Hume, 1573. and Maitland, the lords who held it, refused to place Feb. themselves at the mercy of their enemy; and Drury, 23. marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an April English army, and a battering train, to enforce submis- 25. sion. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by her ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle‡.

After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surren- June dered, not to Morton, but to Drury and the queen of Eng- 9. land, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal§. In a few days Maitland died of poison, whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts||, or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkaldy suffered soon afterwards the punish- Aug. ment of a traitor¶. The latter was esteemed the best 3.

\* Bannatyne, 4. 11.

† Curante in primis Elizabetha suffectus erat. Camden, 278.

‡ Melville, 119, 120. Murdin, 244. 246—254.

§ "If they be not executed, at least the chiefest of them, I, for my part, must think and say that it will greatly hinder her majesty's service." Killebrew to Burghley, 13 June. Wright, i. 484.

|| Mary's letter in Blackwood, apud Jebb, ii. 268.

¶ One hundred persons of the family of Kirkaldy, to save the life of their chieftain, offered to Morton 20,000*l.* Scots, an annuity of 3000 marks, and their services as his retainers for life. Camden, 282.

soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland: but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other, without regard to honesty or loyalty; and Maitland had been justly attainted by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley\*.

The late massacre in France had caused many of the protestants to cross the eastern frontier into Germany and Switzerland: others, from the western coast, had sought an asylum in England; while the inhabitants of Poitou and the neighbouring provinces poured with their ministers into La Rochelle. The place, strong by nature, was still more strengthened by art. The enthusiasm of the townsmen taught them to despise the efforts of the besiegers under the duke of Anjou; but their chief reliance was on the fleet, which the count of Montgomery had collected in the harbours of Plymouth and Falmouth, and on the promises of aid which that nobleman had received from the English council. Charles indulged a hope that he might deprive them of this resource. At his request, and in opposition to the advice of her ministers, Elizabeth consented to become godmother to his infant daughter, and sent the earl of Worcester to present a font of gold, and to answer in her name at the baptism. This, in the estimation of the French reformers, was an act of apostacy: their fanaticism urged them to intercept the English squadron; and, in the action which followed, some of the ambassador's attendants were slain, one of his ships was taken and plundered, and he himself was put in jeopardy of his life. The French court improved the opportunity to despatch to England the marshal de Retz, before the

\* Maitland, after his attainder, complained, in a letter to the laird of Carmichael, that the sentence had been procured by Morton, "for a crime, whereof," says the ex-secretary, "he knows in his conscience, that I was as innocent as himself." Morton replies,—"that I know him innocent in my conscience as myself! The contrary thereof is true. For I was and am innocent thereof; but I could not affirm the same of him, considering what I understand of that matter of his own confession, before, to myself." Dalzell, 474—480. The truth is, both were guilty.

queen's irritation had time to cool. He attempted to justify the conduct of Charles in the late massacre, and is said to have drawn from her an acknowledgment that Coligny had deserved his fate, though it ought not to have involved so many of his followers; and to have obtained a promise that she would refuse a loan of money to the envoys of the Rochellois, under the pretence that she had already refused a similar request made by the king. But when he proceeded to demand that the hostile fleet collected at Plymouth should be dispersed, she referred him to her ministers, who replied, that Englishmen had a right to traffic where they pleased; and that, if they abused that right for other purposes, they might be treated as pirates by the prince whom they had offended. This evasion furnished a sufficient proof of the connexion between the council and the insurgents\*.

Montgomery sailed; was terrified at the sight of the French fleet, moored under the protection of forts and batteries; and after a useless cruise of a few days returned to England. His failure made the queen repent that she had not acceded to the request of Gondi. She acquainted Montgomery with her displeasure, that he had presumed to unfurl the English flag, and forbade him to anchor in the English ports. The next year he was made prisoner in Normandy, and suffered in Paris the death of a traitor†.

La Rochelle, however, was saved by the heroism of its inhabitants, and the impatience of Anjou to take possession of the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected by the national diet. Favourable terms were granted to the besieged, and a new edict of pacification held out to France the promise of a respite from civil and religious war; but the prospect was soon darkened by a confederacy formed between the leaders of the hugenots and the marshals de Montmorency, de

\* Camden, 275. Castelnau, tom. xlv. 55. Thuan. iii. 244. *Mém de Pestat*, ii. 131. ii. 300, 301.

† Camden, 276. Daniel, x. 517.

- Cossé, and Damfont, the catholic leaders of the party called the politicians. Both factions made it their common object to seize the person of the king, whose health was rapidly declining; to remove the queen mother and the duke of Guise from the royal councils, and to proclaim Alençon the next heir to the crown, in place of his brother in Poland. But the conspiracy was detected and defeated by the vigilance and the decision of Catherine: the inferior agents suffered on the scaffold; Montmorency and Cossé were committed to the Bastile; and the duke and the king of Navarre were so narrowly watched at court, that four attempts to effect their escape failed of success. In all these intrigues, the English ambassador acted an important, though clandestine part, encouraging the malcontents with the hope of succour from England, and advising Alençon, in the name of his sovereign, to put himself at the head of the movement\*.
- May 30.** In a few days Charles IX died of a pulmonary complaint. Catherine, whom he had appointed regent, preserved the crown for her second son the king of Poland: but she was unable to prevent the factious proceedings of the malcontents in the provinces. The huguenots bound themselves by a solemn engagement to each other, and established a council at Millaud in Rovergue, with power to appoint counsellors and commanders, to determine the quota of men and money to be raised in each district, and to act as an independent authority in the heart of France. Damville, the ostensible leader of the politicians, assembled the states of his government of Languedoc, and concluded a treaty of mutual defence with the council of Millaud. In these favourable circumstances, the duke of Alençon, having at last effected his escape, raised the standard of revolt; and
- Sept. 15.** Elizabeth, though she had renewed the treaty of Blois

\* Murdin, 775. Camden, 289. 290. Daniel, x. 539. The queen was reminded "that the duk of Alauzon was brought to be awtor of troubles "in his oun cuntrye by her majestie's means." Murdin, 338.

(a treaty offensive and defensive between the two crowns), advanced a considerable sum, to raise an army of German protestants for his service. It was not long before the king of Navarre also eluded the vigilance of his guards; and the two princes jointly solicited the queen of England to declare publicly in their favour. The question of war was seriously debated in the English cabinet; but the friends of peace formed the majority; and Elizabeth offered herself as mediatrix between the king of France and his revolted subjects. Her efforts were seconded by the duke, who had grown jealous of the superior influence of the king of Navarre; and a treaty was concluded, by which the public exercise of the reformed worship was permitted with a few restrictions; an assembly of the states was promised for the future regulation of the kingdom; and Alençon obtained the appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother, and from that period assumed the title of Duke of Anjou\*.

The calm produced by this treaty was of short duration. The confederacy of the protestants at Millaud provoked, as was to be expected, on the part of the catholics, similar but opposite associations in almost every province. The subscribers bound themselves to maintain the ascendancy of the ancient faith, and to protect, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, the catholic worship, the clergy, and the churches, against the hostile attempts of their enemies†. To Henry all these associations appeared encroachments on the royal prerogative: he viewed them with alarm: but his efforts to arrest their progress were useless; and the project of uniting all the catholic associations into one general confederacy reduced him to the necessity of either joining one or other of the contending parties, or of remaining a king without consideration or authority. He placed his name at the head of the catholic league;

\* Davila, 393. Lodge, ii. 135. 142. Murdin, 289, 289. 776. 778. Camden, 303.

† See it in Daniel, xi. 62.

- the majority of the deputies to the assembly of the states subscribed after him, and, at their petition, most
- Jan. 1. of the privileges granted to the protestants by the last edict were annulled. Another religious war
- Oct. 5. ensued: it was terminated, as usual, by a short-lived peace; and the protestants ultimately recovered the chief of those concessions which had been revoked.

But it is now time that the reader should cast his eyes across the northern frontier of France, and survey the convulsed state of the Netherlands. The reader will recollect the seizure by Elizabeth of the money destined for the pay of the army under the duke of Alva. That unfriendly measure had been productive of more important consequences than its advisers could have dared to expect. The Spanish soldiers, without pay, lived at free quarters on the inhabitants. The duke, to raise money, required the imposition of new taxes; and, on the refusal of the states, he published an edict, imposing them by his own authority as representative of the king. This arbitrary act, subversive of the most valuable rights of the nation, filled up, in the estimation of the Flemish people, the measure of their grievances. They closed their shops; the usual transactions of trade were interrupted; the markets remained empty; and in the most populous towns a general gloom prevailed, indicative of the discontent of the inhabitants, and ominous of subsequent calamities\*.

A number of small vessels had been successively equipped by the Belgian malcontents, to cruise against the trade of Spain. Their commanders received commissions from the prince of Orange, and obeyed the immediate orders of the count of La Marque, who had fixed his head-quarters at Dover, and thence directed the operations of the fleet. At length Elizabeth, either

\* Bentivoglio, 92. Strada, l. vii. anno 1570.

at the remonstrance of Philip, or in connivance with 1572.  
 La Marque, ordered that officer to quit her dominions\*. Feb.  
 He sailed to the island of Horn, surprised the fortress 21.  
 of Brille, and planted on its walls the standard of  
 Belgian independence. His success encouraged the Apr.  
 inhabitants of Flushing to expel the Spanish garrison, 1.  
 and to solicit aid both from the French protestants  
 and the English council. The former sent them a  
 large body of men; the latter supplied them with  
 10,000*l.*, and permitted Thomas Morgan to take with  
 him three hundred volunteers, who were soon followed  
 by nine companies of foot, under sir Humphrey Gilbert,  
 and a considerable supply of ammunition and cannon.  
 Encouraged by the presence of these foreigners, many of  
 the towns in Holland and Zeeland threw off the Spanish  
 yoke†.

This insurrection, and the advice of the admiral  
 Coligny, during the pacification of France, had in-  
 duced the prince of Orange to make another attempt  
 to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands. His  
 brother Louis, with the aid of the French huguenots,  
 surprised and garrisoned Mons, the capital of Hain-  
 ault. Alva sat down before it with his army; and the  
 prince led twenty thousand Frenchmen and Germans to Sept.  
 raise the siege. Mons, however, surrendered: but  
 Orange succeeded in penetrating as far as Enchuysen,  
 where he was received with applause by the inhabitants  
 of Holland and Zeeland, and appointed stadtholder of  
 the two provinces‡.

The reader will have observed much inconsistency in  
 the transactions of the English government with the  
 kings of France and Spain. It arose from the different  
 opinions entertained by the queen and the counsellors whom  
 she principally trusted. *Their* chief object was the as-  
 cendancy of the protestant cause in the catholic kingdoms.  
 For this purpose they maintained a constant correspondence

\* Murdin, 210.

† Bentivoglio, 102. 106.

‡ Bentivoglio, 110—124. Strada, l. vii.



with the chiefs of the protestant insurgents, and sought to render them independent of their respective sovereigns, both in the Netherlands and France. But Elizabeth was a sovereign herself: though she approved of the object, she deemed it a duty to uphold the rights and prerogatives of thrones, and feared that the precedent of successful rebellion might one day be retorted against herself. Hence each vicissitude of fortune experienced by the insurgents abroad produced a change of measures in the queen's council at home. Sometimes she was induced to sacrifice her feelings to the representations of her ministers; often she compelled the ministers to submit to her will in opposition to their own judgment.

From the moment that the prince of Orange assumed the government of Holland and Zeeland, Elizabeth began to view his designs with jealousy and distrust. She was aware that his private interests, and his intimate connexion with the huguenots, would induce him to seek aid from France; she believed that Henry III. would grasp at the opportunity of an expedition into the Netherlands, as an expedient to establish tranquillity within his own dominions; and she dreaded the annexation of the seventeen provinces to France, as pregnant with danger to the commerce and independence of England. Indications were given

Nov. of a partiality to the cause of Spain: the English forces  
24. were recalled from Flushing\*, and Guaras, the envoy of  
1573. Alva, was admitted to treat with the lord treasurer†.  
May These ministers, after some debate, declared that the  
1.

\* It would appear that Flushing was as unhealthy then as of late years. "All our men be come from Flushing, either before, or at, or since their returning, the most part all sick." Digges, 299.

† One of the most irritating subjects of complaint on all these occasions was the persecution of English protestants in Spain by the inquisition. The proposal of Alva to lord Cobham does not appear unreasonable: that protestants should abstain from entering the churches during the time of mass, or, if they did, should conform to the usual manner of worship; and that, if they met a procession of the sacrament, they should turn out of the way, or enter a house, unless they would act as others did. *Memorias*, 359. 398.

ancient friendship between the two crowns, though it had been for a time impaired, had never been broken, and agreed that the commerce between England and the Netherlands should be restored; that Elizabeth should satisfy the Italian bankers, the original owners of the money which had been intercepted; and that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to determine, within two years, the demands of those who had suffered by the sequestration of merchandise in each country\*.

Soon afterwards Alva was recalled, and succeeded by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who, though he Dec. possessed not the martial abilities of his predecessor, 2. inflicted severe injuries on the insurgents, and sought by condescension to sooth the discontent of the people. He cultivated with assiduity the friendship of Elizabeth; ratified the accord of the commissioners appointed in 1574, pursuance of the treaty with his predecessor; expelled Aug. at her request the English exiles from the provinces; 1. and obtained from her an order for the arrest of all armed vessels belonging to the insurgents in her dominions, and for their future exclusion from the English ports †.

The queen had now adopted a new line of policy. She had hitherto consented to foment, at present she laboured to compose, the differences between Philip and his revolted subjects; and the king, at her solicitation, agreed to an armistice, preparatory to an intended negociation ‡. But the prince of Orange persisted in Oct. rejecting both her advice and her remonstrances, till the 18. revival of the civil wars in France extinguished the hope of aid from that country, and convinced him that

\* Murdin, 773, 774. Camden, 272. The number of Spanish merchantmen detained in the English ports was 82, valued at 1,190,000 ducats. Gonzalez, Mem. 379.

† Camden, 295, 296. Camden attributes to him the dissolution of the English college at Douai: but Requesens died in 1576, and the college was transferred to Rheims in 1578. Dodd, ii. 15. 219.

‡ Murdin, 289. 777.

- the friendship of Elizabeth was his last and best resource.
1576. Three deputies were accordingly sent to England, not to  
 Jan. announce his willingness to an accommodation with Philip, but to offer the sovereignty, and, if that were refused, the protectorship, of Holland and Zeeland to the queen, as the representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Philippa of Hainault, the consort of Edward III. At first the offer flattered her pride and ambition: soon, however, her resolution began to waver. Could she sanction this transfer of allegiance from one prince to another without injury to her reputation, or danger to herself? She asked the advice of her counsellors, and the diversity of their opinions added to her perplexity. It was observed that she grew taciturn and peevish; the amusements of the court were suspended; and day after day was employed in secret consultation. The result was a communication to the deputies, that the queen could not in honour or conscience accept their offer, but that she would employ her best services to reconcile them with their sovereign\*.
- Mar. Requesens soon afterwards died, and the government  
 5. devolved on the council of state. No provision had been made for the payment of the troops: they mutinied, lived at free quarters on the natives, and by the sack of
- Nov. Antwerp provoked the states to provide for their own  
 4. safety. Representatives from the clergy, nobility, cities, and districts of all the catholic provinces but Luxemburgh, met the deputies of the two protestant states of
8. Holland and Zeeland: and a confederacy, called the Pacification of Ghent, was formed, by which, without renouncing their allegiance to Philip, they bound themselves to expel all foreign soldiers, to preserve the public peace, to aid each other against every opponent, and to restore to its pristine vigour the constitution enjoyed by their fathers†. On the very day of the sack of Antwerp a new governor had arrived in Luxemburgh, Don Juan

\* Camden, 297—299. Murdin, 778. Lodge, ii. 136.

† Du Mont, v. 279.

of Austria, the illegitimate son of the late emperor Charles V.\* He came encircled with the laurels which Dec. he had won from the Turks in the great battle of Lepanto, but the jealousy and obstinacy of the states compelled him to submit to the terms which they dictated, and by the persuasion of the secretary Escovedo, and with the approbation of Philip, he dismissed the Spanish army, and ratified the Pacification of Ghent. 1577. This concession, which was known by the name of "the Feb. 17. "perpetual edict," surprised and disconcerted the prince of Orange, who, with the states of Holland and Zeeland, protested against it as not sufficiently explicit, and Feb. 19. received in return a satisfactory explanation from the states general†. But Don Juan soon perceived that with- Mar. 1. out an army he possessed only the name of governor: at Brussels his authority was no match for the influence of the prince of Orange; and the discovery of a real or pretended conspiracy against his life induced him to quit that city, and to retire to the strong fortress of Namur. There he assumed a bolder tone, called on every faithful Belgian to support the representative of his sovereign, and to rally round the standard of Philip. A renewal of hostilities was now inevitable. The governor recalled from Italy the Spanish troops whom he had so recently dismissed: the prince solicited aid of men and money from England. Elizabeth betrayed her usual irresolution. On the one hand, was it for her, a sovereign herself, to encourage resistance to the authority of a sovereign? On the other, was it safe for her to suffer the subjugation of those states whom she had aided in their first struggles for their liberties? To escape from the dilemma, she earnestly exhorted both parties to observe with fidelity the "perpetual edict," as a compromise which effectually provided for the rights of the sovereign and of the people.

\* He had travelled for greater security under the disguise of a black slave, with Octavio Gonzaga as his owner. Cabrera, 872. Strada, l. ix.

† Du Mont, v. 288, 290.

Juan of Austria was a prince of restless and aspiring mind. When he was torn from his imaginary kingdom of Tunis by the command of Philip, he amused or consoled his disappointment with another visionary project, that of winning for himself the crown of England. For this purpose the pope should supply him with a force of 6000 mercenaries under pretence of aiding the knights of Malta: he would join them at sea with several Spanish regiments, and land in England: the friends of the Scottish queen would hasten to his standard; that princess would be liberated from prison; a marriage would follow, and Juan and Mary would become king and queen of Scotland, and eventually of England. When he laid this plan before the pontiff, Gregory gave to it his assent: but the moment it was submitted to Philip that monarch rejected it, without hesitation. Don Juan, he said, was now governor of the Netherlands, with matters of higher moment to claim his immediate attention: but his former project had been betrayed to the prince of Orange, who hastened to communicate the intelligence to Elizabeth, assured her that the recall of the Spanish force from Italy was part of the plan which had never been abandoned; and after several messages extorted her reluctant consent to a treaty, by which she became security for a loan of 100,000*l.* to the states, and engaged to supply them with an army of 1000 horse and 5000 foot, on condition that they should not make peace without her consent, nor afford an asylum to her rebels within

Dec. their territories\*. To excuse this hostile proceeding to  
22. others, perhaps to herself, the queen assured the Spanish monarch that she had no other object in view but his

\* Murd. p. 290. 779. Camd. 311—15. 320. Thuan. iii. 557. Strada, l. iii. an. 1576. Becchetti, xii. 220. Maffei has a singular addition. "E quando cio non si potesse ottenere, si facesse opera di creare e gridare re pubblicamente il fratello del conté di Vinetón, uomo di fede sincera, ed accetto a quei popoli." Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.* l. v. No. 26. See also Bompland, *Hist. Pontificatus Gregorii XIII.* p. 236. Of this design to marry the brother of the marquess of Winchester to Mary, and to proclaim them king and queen, I have found no notice in our historians.

interest and her own security, that is, to preserve the Netherlands from French invasion, and herself from the hostility of his brother; that she had exacted from the Belgians a promise not to throw off their allegiance to the crown of Spain; and that she would herself turn her arms against them, if they should ever violate that promise. Philip subdued his feelings, affected to believe her protestations, and expressed a hope that through her mediation tranquillity might be restored.

The states had chosen for governor the archduke Matthias, a young prince, brother to the emperor Rodolph; but he possessed little more than the title; the real authority was vested in the prince of Orange, with the subordinate rank of lieutenant-general\*. On the other hand, Don Juan had been rejoined by the Spanish troops, under the command of the celebrated Farnese prince of Parma. Offensive operations were resumed; and the decisive victory of Gemblours spread consternation through every province of the union. The states applied for additional aid to the German princes and the queen of England, and afterwards to the French duke of Anjou. 1<sup>o</sup>. Casimir, brother of the elector Palatine, crossed the Rhine to their succour, with 12,000 Germans, levied and paid with English gold. His followers were chiefly protestants; with them, as with the native protestants, it was a sacred duty to put down idolatry; and therefore, wherever they found themselves the more powerful, they united in abolishing the catholic worship, and inflicting severe injuries on the catholic inhabitants. The Walloons were the first to complain. They discovered that they had only exchanged the despotism of Philip for the still more intolerable despotism of native and foreign fanatics. Why should they not return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign, provided he would secure to them the enjoyment of their national liberties? Don Juan profited by these sentiments: he received them as liege subjects of Philip; and, when

Nov  
11.1578.  
Jan.  
31.

\* Du Mont, v. 314.

- Casimir approached his lines, opposed to him so determined a front, that the German deemed it prudent to withdraw.
- 2°. With respect to Anjou, he received the deputies with pleasure, and concluded with them a treaty, by which it
20. was agreed, that he should lead a French army into the Netherlands to the aid of the states, should receive three towns in Hainault and Artois for his own security, and should be at liberty to form an independent state for himself out of such conquests as he might make on the south of the Meuse. He kept his word at the head of
- Sept. 10,000 men; took Binche by assault, and prevailed on Maubeuge to open its gates. But here his progress terminated; and he attributed his forbearance to his deference to the queen of England, to whose hand he still aspired, and whose jealousy of the designs of the French court induced her to object to the presence of a powerful army under a French prince in the Netherlands\*.
- Oct. The death of Don Juan at this period proved of no
1. detriment to the Spanish interests. He was succeeded by Farnese duke of Parma, his equal in the field and his superior in the cabinet. The prince of Orange, in despair of holding together the entire confederacy, summoned a meeting of the northern states at Utrecht,
1579. in which was formed a new association, afterwards known
- Jan. as the republic of the united provinces. Farnese, on the
23. other hand, attached the Walloon provinces to Spain, by
- May a solemn promise that the perpetual edict should be
17. faithfully observed, and the foreign force replaced by a

\* Strada, l. ix. x. xi Bentivoglio, 246—253. See also, in Mr. Gage's elaborate history of the hundred of Thingoe in Suffolk, seven letters dated from Hengrave on the 29th of August to the ambassadors in the Low Countries, and their answer to the queen in Murdin, ii. 317. It was her earnest wish to restore the revolted provinces to Philip with security for their liberties, and above all to guard against the possible transfer of their allegiance to the crown of France: her ministers dared not oppose her openly, but employed every artifice to effect the entire separation of the Netherlands from Spain, even at the risk of their falling immediately under the dominion of the duke of Anjou, and ultimately of the king of France.

native army\*. He met with no opposition from Anjou, whose followers, having been engaged to serve only for three months, were disbanded, whilst the prince himself turned his thoughts from conquests in the Netherlands to a marriage with the queen of Eng-  
land. During the last summer he had sounded her inclination by several messengers: now he requested permission to send to her his favourite Simier. Elizabeth would rather have seen the principal than the agent. She made difficulties: but at last consented to receive him, provided he came without parade, and kept secret the object of his mission†. But Simier soon overcame her displeasure, if she really felt as she pretended. He excelled in the accomplishments of a courtier: his manners, his wit, and his gallantry made an irresistible impression. Thrice in the week he was admitted to the queen's private parties; and it was observed that she never appeared so cheerful and so happy as in his company‡. By her counsellors it was believed that she revealed to him secrets of state: and the tongue of slander whispered suspicions of the innocence of their meetings§. The result, however, showed that Simier wooed successfully for his master. Aware that his chief obstacle was the influence which Leicester possessed over her heart, he made it his first object to wean Elizabeth from her affection for that nobleman, by disclosing to her the secrets of his amours, and informing her of his recent marriage with the relict of the late earl of Essex, a marriage hitherto concealed from her knowledge. The queen was mortified and irritated: it was in vain that her confidante, Mrs. Ashley, spoke in

\* Du Mont, v. 322. 350.

† Murdin, ii. 318.

‡ Murdin, 320. He was *amatoris levitatibus, facetiis et aulicis illecebris exquisitus eruditus.* Camd. 322.

§ Mary says to Elizabeth, as she had learned from lady Shrewsbury, "vous aviez non seulement engagé votre honneur avecques un estrangier nommé Simier, l'alant trouver de nuit en la chambre d'une dame, ou vous le baisiez et usiez avec luy de diverses privautés deshonestes; mais aussi luy reveilliez les segretz du royaume, trahissant vos propres conseillers." Murden, 559. At last Anjou himself grew jealous, and recalled Simier, "de crainte qu'il ne gouvernast la reine avec trop de privauté comme il faisoit." Egerton, 271.



favour of Leicester. "What," replied Elizabeth, "shall I so far forget myself as to prefer a poor servant of my own making to the first princes in Christendom?" The earl added to her displeasure by his indiscretion and impatience. He attributed the influence of the envoy to philtres and witchcraft; and occasionally let fall threats of personal vengeance. But the queen ordered him to be confined at Greenwich; and by proclamation took under her special protection all the members of the French embassy\*. Attempts to prevent the marriage had been made by harangues from the pulpit; but the pulpit, the usual engine of political agitation in that age, was silenced by authority†, and the articles of a preparatory treaty were discussed between the agent and the queen's ministers. At length, wearied with their objections and delays, Simier applied for a final answer to Elizabeth herself, who eluded the question by replying that she could not make up her mind to marry one whom she had never seen. The hint however was taken; and the duke himself, travelling in disguise, without previous notice arrived at Greenwich. Elizabeth was surprised and gratified: his youth, gaiety, and attention, atoned for the scars with which the small-pox had furrowed his countenance; and, after a private courtship of a few days, he departed with the most flattering expectations of success, both with regard to his intended marriage and to his pretensions in the Netherlands. At the royal command, the lords of the council assembled; they deliberated the greater part of the week; but, unable to agree, they waited on their sovereign, requesting to be made acquainted with her inclination, and promising, whatever it might be, to further it to the best of their power‡. The love-sick queen burst into tears.

\* Camd. 322. 329.

† Lodge, 11. 212.

‡ Sussex, Burghley, and Hunsdon urged the marriage. Leicester and Hatton joined them at first, but went over to their opponents, Bromley, Mildmay, and Sadler. The chief arguments of the latter were the danger to religion from a catholic husband, the offence of God, if he were allowed

She had expected, she said, that they would have unanimously petitioned her to marry; but she was simple, indeed, to confide so delicate a matter to such counsellors; they might depart, and come again when her mind should be more composed. That afternoon and the next day she vented, in bitter and vituperative language, her displeasure against the supposed adversaries of the marriage; the council hastened to commence a negotiation with Simier, whom the duke had left for that purpose; and a preliminary treaty was, after some hesitation, concluded\*.

Nov  
22

During this year, though neither of the contending parties in the Netherlands could boast of decisive success, the balance was on the whole in favour of Philip, who, in the following spring, published the celebrated 1580, ban, by which he declared the prince of Orange a Mar. traitor, and promised a reward of 25,000 crowns to the man who should take him prisoner, or deprive him of life†. The prince, on the other hand, publicly renounced his allegiance, and prevailed on the northern states to issue a declaration that Philip, by his invasion July of their liberties, had forfeited his right to the sovereignty. This they followed by an appeal for protection to England and France; and, that they might secure the protection of both crowns, they made an offer of the government of their country to the duke of Anjou. St. Aldegonde was despatched to make the tender to that prince, and returned with two instruments, the one public, by which he notified his acceptance of that high Sept. office; the other secret, by which he engaged to sign a deed transferring to the prince the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland. In Belgium, this event was celebrated with public rejoicings, though the fanaticism

to have mass, even in private; the danger to the queen's life if, at that age, she should have issue: and the inutility of the marriage, if she had not. Murdin, 321—336. Sadler, ii. 570.

\* Murd. 337 Digges, 350.

† It is in Du Mont, v. 368. The defence of the prince by Villiers, formerly an advocate, now a minister of the Gospel, occurs, *ibid.* 384.

of the protestant soldiers, who plundered the churches, of their catholic allies, already sowed the seeds of disunion. In France, the duke hastened, in quality of mediator, to bring about an accommodation between  
 Nov. 26. the king his brother and the French calvinists; and adventurers from both creeds, anxious to obtain the favour of the presumptive heir to the crown, offered to him their services in his projected expedition into the Low Countries. They were ordered to station themselves in readiness near the northern frontier\*.

On the first intelligence of the mission of St. Aldegonde, a new difficulty suggested itself, or was suggested, to the mind of Elizabeth. To give to Anjou the sovereignty of the Low Countries was, in all probability, to annex them to the crown of France, an addition of wealth and territory which might prove fatal to the trade and dangerous to the independence of England. If she were to permit it, would not her acquiescence be attributed to her passion for the duke? And, if after that she were to marry him, would not her marriage be as hateful in the eyes of her subjects as had been that of her sister Mary with Philip of Spain? She wrote immediately to the ambassador Stafford, that "the banes" of her nuptial feast should not be savoured with the "sauce of her subjects' wealth;" that Anjou "must not procure her harm, whose love he sought to win;" and that he ought "to suspend his answer to the states, till he had sent some of quality and trust to communicate and concur with that she might think best for both their honours†." How this objection was removed, does not appear‡. But the queen was not only induced to consent; she moreover made him a present of 100,000 crowns, and added a hint of her willingness

\* Bentivoglio, ii. 28. 33, 34. Cabrera, 112. Du Mont, v. 868. 380, 381.

† See the letter in Wright, ii. 150.

‡ Perhaps she was satisfied with the clause which stipulated that in no circumstances these countries should be incorporated with the crown of France.

to resume the treaty of marriage. Not a moment was lost. A splendid embassy, with the prince dauphin of Auvergne at its head, hastened from the French court : as they ascended the Thames, they were welcomed by the lords and the civic authorities from their barges ; the crowds on the banks hailed them with shouts of congratulation ; and they landed under a salvo of artillery from the Tower. They had come with the persuasion that that queen really condemned her former inconstancy\* : to their astonishment, they learned that she had recently discovered a new objection ; to marry Anjou, after his acceptance of the sovereignty, would necessarily entail on her a war with Philip, whom his late acquisition of Portugal had rendered the most formidable prince in Europe ; she therefore proposed, by her ambassador in France, to conclude in lieu of the marriage a league defensive and offensive between the two crowns†. Henry endeavoured to suppress his vexation ; but to the importunities of the English envoys he always returned the same answer, that he was ready to subscribe such a league, whenever Elizabeth should have fulfilled her promise to his brother. His obstinacy at length prevailed ; a treaty, grounded on that which had been drawn by Gardiner for the marriage between Philip and Mary, was concluded, and the term of six weeks was assigned for the time of the celebration of the contract, but with this extraordinary provision, that either party should be at liberty to recede, if certain

1581.  
April  
12.

Aug.  
and  
Sept.

\* " L'on tient pour certain, qu'elle est resoluë au mariage." Egerton, 245.

† Digges, 351, 354, 400. Egerton, 253—8. Camden, 374. At the death of Henry (31st Jan., 1580), cardinal archbishop and king of Portugal, the right of succession was in the princes of the house of Braganza, as representatives of Edward the youngest brother of the deceased monarch ; but the crown was given, in a popular meeting at Santarem, to don Antonio, commendator of Prato, the natural son of don Louis, one of the other brothers. There appeared, however, another and more powerful claimant, Philip of Sp in, the male heir of his mother, an elder sister. In the space of fifty-eight days Philip conquered the whole kingdom, with the exception of the small island of Tercera which still acknowledged don Antonio. That prince had come to England, and solicited the aid of Elizabeth. Cabrera, 1001—1016, 1025.

- matters, respecting a league of perpetual amity, should not be accorded within that period to their mutual satisfaction. The six weeks passed away; Elizabeth was still irresolute, and Anjou, having crossed the frontier at the head of 16,000 men, and driven the prince of Parma from the siege of Cambray, hastened, at her request, to England. She received him with every demonstration of the most ardent attachment; and gave him a promise, written with her own hand (exact-  
 June 11. ing at the same time a similar promise from him) to look upon his enemies as her own; to assist him in all cases in which he should require it, and not to treat with the king of Spain without his consent\*. Soon  
 Aug. 11. after she had celebrated the anniversary of her accession, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors and of the English nobility, she placed a ring on his finger, saying, that by that ceremony she pledged herself to become his wife; and commanded the bishop of Lincoln, the earls of Sussex, Bedford, and Leicester, and Hatton and Walsingham, to subscribe a written paper, regulating the rites to be observed, and the form of contract to be pronounced by both parties at the celebration of  
 Nov. 17. the marriage†. Every doubt was expelled from the minds of the spectators; Castelnau hastened to inform the king of France; St. Aldegonde sent an express with the intelligence to the states; and the union of the queen and the duke, as if it had already been solemnized, was celebrated at Brussels with fire-works, discharges of artillery, and the usual demonstrations of joy.

\* There were two promises, one more general than the other. Elizabeth acknowledges in them, that for attachment and constancy the duke was the most deserving of all her suitors, "de tous ceux, qui nous ont recherchée et poursuivie d'amour." *Mémoires du duc de Nevers*, i. 545. This narrative was written at the time by one of his suite.

† Daniel says that, when he wrote, the original was preserved in the library of M. Foucault. Daniel, xi. 151. In the *Mémoires de Nevers*, we are told, that the particulars were agreed on the 11th of June; and that, as soon as the ceremony of marriage should be performed, each was to retire, the queen to attend at the reformed, the duke at the catholic service, and then to meet again at the door. *Nevers*, i. 568.

Though Leicester, Walsingham, and Hatton, at the royal command, had put their signatures to the paper, they had previously, but secretly, arranged a new plan of opposition. When Elizabeth retired to her apartment in the evening, she was assailed by the tears and sighs of her female attendants\*. On their knees they conjured her to pause before she precipitated herself into the gulf of evils which was open before her. They exaggerated the dangers to which women at her years were exposed in childbed; hinted at the probability that a young husband would forsake an aged wife for a more youthful mistress; represented to her the objections of her subjects to the control of a foreigner; and prayed her not to sully her fair fame, as a protestant princess, by marrying a popish husband.

The duke, in the morning, received a message from the queen, and hastened to pay his respects to his supposed bride. He found her pale and in tears. Two more such nights as the last, she told him, would consign her to the grave. She had passed it in the deepest anguish of mind; in a constant conflict between her inclination and her duty. He must not think that her affection for him was diminished. He still possessed her heart: but the prejudices of her people opposed an insuperable bar to their union. She had, after a long struggle, determined to sacrifice her own happiness to the tranquillity and the welfare of the kingdom.

When Anjou would have replied, Hatton, who was present, came to the aid of his mistress. He enumerated the common objections to the marriage; but insisted chiefly on the disparity of age. The queen was in her forty-ninth year. What probability was there that she would have issue? and, without the prospect of issue, what reasonable object could she have in mar-

\* According to Nevers, she addressed her demoiselles in these words,

\* C'est à ce coup que j'ai un mari. Quant à moi, je suis bien. Vous autres pourvoyez vous, si vous voulez." Nev 552.

riage? Besides, the contract was conditional: it remained to be seen whether the king of France would ratify the terms on which it had been concluded. With the answer of the duke we are not acquainted: but he returned to his apartment pensive and irritated, and, throwing from him the ring, exclaimed that the women of England were as changeable and capricious as the waves which encircled their island\*.

The news of the espousals had equally alarmed the zealots of both religions. In France it was pronounced from the pulpit, that the marriage of the presumptive heir to the monarchy with an heretical princess portended nothing less than the speedy downfall of the church. In England, the preachers compared their countrymen with the Jews, who demanded a king, and soon had reason to condemn their own folly. But that which chiefly irritated the queen was the bold and inflammatory language of a libel written by Stubbs, of Lincoln's inn. It accused the ministers of ingratitude to their country, the queen of degeneracy from her former virtue; charged the French nation in general, and the duke of Anjou in particular, with the most odious vices; and described the marriage as an impious and sacrilegious union between a daughter of God and a son of the devil. Elizabeth, by proclamation, cleared the character of Anjou and his minister Simier, and ordered the libellous pamphlet to be burnt by the public executioner. The author, publisher, and printer, were, in virtue "of a good and necessarye lawe," passed in the first year of the queen†, condemned in the court of the King's Bench to lose their right hands, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The printer was pardoned: the other two, having petitioned in vain for mercy, suffered their punishment in the market-place of Westminster.

\* For these particulars, see Camden, 375, 376. Nevers, i. 552. 554. Daniel xl. 150, 151.

† Stat. of Realm, iv. 366.

Stubbs, the moment his right hand was lopped off, uncovered his head with the left, and waving his cap, exclaimed, "Long live the queen \*!"

The duke of Anjou had demanded leave to depart. But the amorous queen could not bear the idea of separation. She requested him to remain, assured him of her intention to marry him hereafter †, sent messengers to renew the negociation in Paris, loaded him with caresses in public as well as in private ‡, and invented daily new plans of amusement to reconcile him to her capricious delays §. Thus three months rolled away. The godly were scandalized; the ministers dreaded the result; the states of Belgium impatiently demanded the presence of their new sovereign; and the duke himself began to feel the ridiculous part which he was compelled to act. At last his patience was exhausted, and he announced to the queen the day fixed for his departure, founding his resolution on the necessity of his presence in Belgium ||. Elizabeth remonstrated, vented her displeasure on the states by calling their deputies

Feb.  
1.

\* Camden. 378. *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 143. 149. 153. 158.

† "Il espère, voire s'assure, ainsi qu'il m'a écrit, qu'ils se marieront ensemble, devant qu'il en parte." Hen. III. to St. Goar, Nov. 27. Egerton, 266.

‡ Her conduct gave rise to the most scandalous tales. The French author of the memoir tells us that they spent their time together, and that she proved her affection to him by "baisers, privautés, caresses, et migrations ordinaires entre amans." Nevers, 555. The countess of Shrewsbury speaks still more plainly: "qu'il vous avoit esté trouvée une nuit à la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous l'aviez rencontré avec vostre seule chemise et manteau de nuit: et que par après vous l'aviez laissé entrer, et qu'il demeura avecques vous pres de troys heures." Murdin, 553. From this passage the imagination of Whitaker has woven a strange and improbable tale, ii. 516.

§ On new year's day the duke exerted himself much at a tournament. The moment it was over the queen ran to him, saluted him repeatedly in public, and led him by the hand to his bed-chamber, that he might repose himself. The next morning she visited him again before he arose. He had taken the following verse for his device:—

Serviet æternum, dulcis quem torquet Eliza.

Nevers, 555—557.

|| Egerton, 260. The queen-mother, either to provoke a decision from Elizabeth, or for some other reason of state, had proposed a marriage between Anjou and an infanta of Spain. After his return to the Netherlands she repeated the proposal. It appears to have been laughed at by Philip as a mere pretence. Egert. 262—270.



"des coquins," and then yielded an unwilling assent on condition that he should promise to return within a month. At Canterbury she parted from him in tears. As he pursued his journey to Sandwich, he received from her repeated messages of inquiry after his health; and the moment he embarked, the earl of Sussex followed him on board, with a most urgent request that he would return immediately to the queen. But it was Feb. then too late. *He* sailed for Flushing: *she* sought to 8. bury her sorrows in privacy, studiously avoiding the very sight of Whitehall, that the place might not obtrude upon her mind the recollection of the happy hours which she had spent in his company\*.

For greater distinction, Elizabeth had ordered the earl of Leicester, with six lords, as many knights, and a numerous train of gentlemen, to accompany the duke, not only to the sea-side, but as far as the city of Antwerp. There he was solemnly invested with the ducal 19. mantle as duke of Brabant, and afterwards at Ghent was Aug. crowned as earl of Flanders. During the summer, 20. aided by England and France, he opposed, with chequered success, the attempts of the prince of Parma: but, observing that the states were jealous of his followers, and that the real authority was possessed not by himself, but by the prince of Orange, he conceived the 1583. idea of giving the law to his inferiors, by seizing on the Jan. same day most of the principal towns in the country. 6. The attempt failed in almost every instance; many June thousands of his followers were slain; and he escaped, 28. disheartened and ashamed, into France. His death, 1584. after a long indisposition, at Château Thierry, whether June it were caused by poison, or intemperance, or disappoint- 10.

\* "The departure was mournfull betwixt her highness and Monsure: "she lothe to let him gove, and he as lothe to departe. Her majestie "wyll not cum to White Haule, because the places shall not give cause "of remembrance to hir, of him with whom she so unwillingly parted. Mon- "sure promised his returne in March." Lord Talbot, Feb. 12. Lodge, ii. 260. The same is asserted by the author of the French Memoir. Nev- ers, 559. 565. Egerton, 261.

ment, freed the queen from a passion, which probably would have led her into a repetition of her amorous follies\*.

Exactly a month after the death of Anjou, and four years after the publication of the ban by Philip, the prince of Orange, the founder of Belgian independence, perished at Delft, by a pistol-shot from the hand of Bal-<sup>July</sup>thazar Gerard, a Burgundian adventurer. The assassin<sup>10.</sup> had no personal grief to avenge: it was fanaticism, with the prospect of reward, that urged him to the bloody deed. The most dreadful tortures were invented to punish the criminal; but he bore them for four successive days with an air of defiance and triumph. He denied that he was a murderer. He had only done the duty of a loyal subject: he had executed on a rebel the doom pronounced against him by his sovereign. Philip felt no remorse for his own part in the assassination of the prince—that he persuaded himself was not a crime, but an act of justice—but he seems to have shed a few tears over the fate of the man who had so fearlessly sacrificed himself in his service†.

Before I conclude this chapter I must call the attention of the reader to the state of Ireland, where, at the accession of Elizabeth, the reins of government were held by the earl of Sussex. Under Mary he had called<sup>1560</sup> a parliament to establish, under Elizabeth he called<sup>Jan.</sup> another to abolish, the catholic worship. It was enacted<sup>11</sup>

\* Egerton, 277. So much was she still attached to him, that on May 7th, Stafford, the ambassador, was obliged to excuse himself for having informed her of the danger of the duke. She would not believe it, but accused Stafford of wishing his death. So severe was the reprimand, that he did not dare to inform her of the event when it actually happened. "I had thought to have written to her majesty, but I darst not presume for 'feare of ministring cawse of greefe.'" Murdin, 397. 406. Castelnau bears testimony to her "extreme deuil et ennuy" at it. Egerton, 157. It cannot be, as some writers have imagined, that all the tokens of attachment which she lavished on the duke were dictated by policy only, and not by affection: though it is true that she favoured his attempt on the Netherlands through hostility to Spain, and earnestly but fruitlessly advised Henry III. to assume the sovereignty left vacant at the death of his brother. Egert. 154—160.

† See the documents in Egerton, 161. et seq. Strada, l. v. c. ii.

that the Irish should be reformed after the model of the English church: but both the nobility and the people abhorred the change; and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet\*.

Among the aboriginal Irish, the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of the government was Shane O'Neil, the eldest among the legitimate children of the earl of Tyrone. Henry VIII. had granted the succession to Matthew, a bastard son; but Shane claimed the chieftainry of Ulster as his right, and the natives honoured and obeyed him as the O'Neil. Through the suggestion of Sussex he consented to visit Elizabeth, and to 1562. lay his pretensions before her. At the English court Jan. he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his 6. guard, who were armed with their battle-axes, and arrayed in linen vests dyed with saffron †. The queen was pleased, and, though she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favour. Sometimes he rendered the most useful services to the English government; at other times he revenged severely the real or imaginary injuries which he received. He was of a turbulent but generous disposition, proud of his name and importance, and most feelingly alive to every species of insult. At 1565. last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion; repeated losses compelled him to seek refuge among the Scots of Ulster, equally enemies to the natives and the English; and the Irish chieftain was basely

\* Irish St. 2 Eliz. 1, 2, 3.

† The native Irish are divided into galloglasses and kernes by the deputy, Senleger, in a letter to Henry VIII. He describes them thus: "one sorte be harnesssed in mayle and bassenettes, having every of them his weapon, callyd a sparre, moche like the axe of the Towre, and they be named galloglasse; and for the more parte ther boyes beare for them thre dartes a piece, which dartes they throwe or (before) they come to the hand strike: they doo not lightly abandon the fiede, but hyde the brunt to the deathe. The other sorte callid kerne ar naked men, but only ther shertes and small cotes; and many tymes when they come to the bycker, but bare nakyd saving ther shurtes, and those have dartes and shorte bowes, which sorte of people be bothe hardy and deliyer to serche woddes or maresses, in the whiche they be harde to be beaten." St. Pap. iii. 444.

assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of 1567. Piers, an English officer. By act of parliament the July. name, with the dignity of O'Neil, was extinguished for 1569. ever; to assume it was made high treason; and the lands of Shane and of all his adherents, comprising one-half of Ulster, were vested in the crown, with some trifling exceptions, in favour of a few loyalists\*.

But the reduction of Ulster did not secure peace in Ireland. The turbulence of the native chieftains, whether of Irish or English origin, precipitated them continually into local wars; and their attachment to the catholic faith alienated them from a government by which their religion was proscribed. In every province insurrections broke out, but were everywhere suppressed, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less difficulty. The general punishment was the forfeiture of the lands of the delinquents; but it was found to be more easy to pronounce than to enforce such punishment. On this account sir Thomas Smith, the secretary, suggested to the queen a new plan, to colonize the forfeited districts with English settlers, who, having an interest in the soil, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the crown.

The experiment was made: lands were granted to the 1572. bastard son of the projector and to other adventurers; and the consequence was, that the districts of which they took possession were reduced to the state of a wilderness by endless and destructive wars between the new settlers and the native inhabitants†. The failure, however, was attributed not to any defect in the system, but to the limited scale on which it had been tried. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, offered to subdue and colonize

\* Camden, 153—156. Rym. xv. 676. Irish St. 11 Eliz. Sess. 3. 1. I may here notice the irregular manner in which the Irish parliaments were summoned. In the last, only ten counties out of twenty were called upon to return representatives; in this, on complaint being made, the judges were consulted, and several representatives sent by boroughs not incorporated, and some officers, who had returned themselves, were ejected. See Leland, ii. 225. 242.

† Camden, 271.

with 1200 men the district of Clanhuby, in the province of Ulster. By a contract between him and Elizabeth it was agreed that each should furnish an equal share of the expense; and that the colony should be equally divided between them, as soon as it had been planted with 2000 settlers. Essex was dazzled with the splendid prospect before him; and his enemies at court stimulated him with predictions of success, though they had no other view than to remove him from the presence of the queen. When he had mortgaged his estates, and proceeded in the enterprise till it would be ruinous to retrace his steps, they began to throw impediments in

1573. his way. The summer was almost past before he could reach Ireland. There Fitzwilliams, the lord deputy, objected to his powers; the natives, under Phelim O'Neil, opposed a formidable resistance\*; and it was discovered that the provisions furnished by the queen were unsound, and her troops ill provided with arms. He maintained himself with difficulty during the winter; but the lords Dacre and Rich, most of the gentlemen, and many of the common soldiers, with or without permission, returned to England. In the spring the enterprise was abandoned; and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different parts of the island. It would be tedious to follow this adventurous nobleman through his remaining career. He proposed plans which were approved and then rejected;

1575. he obtained leave to return home, and was sent back to

Nov. Ireland with the empty title of earl marshal; and at

1576. length, after a succession of disappointments, he died at

Sept. Dublin, of a dysentery, probably caused by anxiety of

22. mind, though by report his death was attributed to poison, supposed to have been administered to him by the procurement of Leicester†. This new plan of coloniza-

\* Camd. 286—288. The Irish annals assert, that the next year, 1573, Essex assassinated Phelim O'Neil at a banquet to which the native chief had been invited. Leland, ii. 257.

† See an interesting account of his death in Hearne's *Condon*, Pref.

tion was viewed with horror by the natives both of Irish and of English extraction. In the expulsion of the adherents of O'Neil they saw, or thought they saw, the fate which was reserved for themselves; and many chieftains either in person or by messengers implored the aid of the catholic powers for the preservation of their property and of their religion. The kings of France and Spain were occupied with concerns of more immediate interest; but Gregory XIII., who had succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, lent a willing ear to their complaints and solicitations. In the bull of his predecessor, Ireland had not been named; but the omission was now supplied; and Gregory signed, though he

lxxxix. Great pains were taken to prove to the queen and council that he died a natural death. (See Camden, 308, 309; and the Sydney Papers, i. 88.) I may here add that, if the earls of Essex and Leicester were enemies, the countesses of Essex and Leicester were friends. The latter, after the death or murder of his first wife, had cohabited with Douglas, the widow of Lord Sheffield. If we may believe her, they had been privately married: certain it is that she bore him a son, whose fortunes will claim the attention of the reader in a succeeding volume. At what time Leicester abandoned her for Lettice, countess of Essex, we know not; but there is reason to believe that she bore him two children during the absence of her husband in Ireland; a connexion which was at last betrayed to the queen, and excited her indignation. (Memorias, vii. 397.) After the death of Essex they were secretly married, and, to justify this union, Leicester maintained that his alleged marriage with lady Sheffield was the fiction of a disappointed woman. Sir Francis Knollys, the father of Lettice, was pacified: but, fearful that his daughter might hereafter be treated in the same manner as lady Sheffield, he insisted that the ceremony should be repeated in his presence. For some time it was kept secret; but the reader has seen that it was revealed by Simier to Elizabeth, who from that moment professed herself an enemy to the woman that dared to become a rival for the heart of her favourite. Even the young earl of Essex, in the height of his power, pleaded for his mother in vain. He obtained, indeed, more than once, permission to introduce her to Elizabeth in the privy gallery; but whenever notice was sent to the queen, she always excused herself from leaving her room. At length, on the 27th of Feb., 1598, two-and-twenty years after the marriage, Elizabeth promised to meet her at dinner at the house of her brother, sir William Knollys. Great preparations were made; the countess took with her a jewel of the value of 300*l.* to present to her majesty; the coach drove to the door of the palace for the queen: yet she did not appear. Essex went to entreat her privately. She positively refused. The next day, however, the favourite brought them together: the countess kissed the queen's hand and breast, and Elizabeth kissed her in return. But this was all: her solicitations for a second interview were ineffectual. See the Sydney Papers, ii. 92, 93, 95. Camden, 308, 309.

did not publish, a new bull, by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England\*. Among those who offered to carry it into execution, were Thomas Stukely and James Fitzmaurice. Stukely was an English adventurer, without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each. Having obtained from the pontiff a ship of war, six hundred disciplined soldiers, and three thousand stand of arms, he sailed from Civita Vecchia to join Fitzmaurice at Lisbon; but immediately offered his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and perished Aug. in the company of that prince at the battle of Alcazar 4. against Abdalmelech, king of Fez and Morocco†. Fitzmaurice was an Irishman, the brother of the earl of Desmond, and an inveterate enemy to the English government. He suffered shipwreck on the coast of 1579. Galicia; but, with the aid of the papal ambassador, June. procured other vessels, and, sailing from Portugal, took possession of the port of Smerwick, near Kerry. He had brought with him no more than eighty Spanish soldiers, a few Irish and English exiles, and the celebrated Dr. Sanders, in the capacity of papal legate‡. But he trusted to the popularity of his name, the resources of his family, and the influence of a bull, which granted to his followers all the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders. His hopes were however disappointed. The Irish, taught by preceding failures, listened with coldness to his solicitations: he fell in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen; and the invaders, to save themselves from destruction, sought an asylum among the retainers of the earl of Desmond. Though that nobleman made loud professions of loyalty,

\* Becchetti, xii. 221.

† Ibid. 222. Camden, 323. 327. Cabrera, 997.

‡ Sanders died in Ireland the next year. Dodd, ii. 76.

his conduct provoked suspicion: he was proclaimed a traitor, and his dominions were plundered by the English. At the moment when his fortunes appeared desperate, a ray of hope appeared. Lord Grey de Wilton, the new deputy, was defeated in the vale of Glendalough; and San Giuseppe, an Italian officer, in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick from Portugal, with several hundred men, a large sum of money, and 5000 stand of arms. But the new comers had scarcely erected a fort, when they were besieged by the lord deputy on 1580 land, and blockaded on the sea-side by admiral Winter. Nov San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, 5. proposed to surrender; the soldiers joined in the opinion of their commander, and an offer was made to deliver the place to the besiegers. By the English it has been asserted, that no conditions were granted; by the foreigners that they had capitulated for their lives. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, 11. and then ordered or permitted them to be massacred in cold blood\*. This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond: yet he contrived to elude the diligence of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests. At last a small party of his enemies, attracted by a glimmering light, entered a hut, in which they found a

\* The poet Spenser, secretary to lord Grey, attempts to vindicate the conduct of the deputy, and says "that the enemy begged they might be "allowed to depart with their lives and arms according to the law of nations. He asked to see their commission from the pope or the king of Spain. They had none, they were the allies of the Irish. But the Irish, "replied Grey, are traitors, and you must suffer as traitors. I will make "no terms with you; you may submit or not. They yielded, craving 'only "mercy;' which it being not thought good to show them, for danger of "them, if, being saved, they should afterwards join with the Irish; and "also for terror to the Irish, who are much emboldened by those foreign "succours, and also put in hope of more ere long; there was no "other way but to make that short end of them as was made." Cayley's Raleigh, vol. i. p. 21. Sir Richard Bingham, an eye-witness, says, "that "they surrendered over-night to the lord deputy's will, to have mercy or "not," and the next morning the mariners and soldiers entered the place, and fell to "rylling, and spoyling, and withall kylling, which they never "ceased whilst there lyved one." He estimates the slain at betwixt 400 and 500, or 500 and 600. Wright, ii. 122.



venerable old man without attendants, lying on the hearth before the fire. He had only time to exclaim "I am the earl of Desmond," when Kelly of Moriarty struck off his head, which was conveyed, a grateful present, to Elizabeth, and by her order fixed on London bridge\*.

\* Becchetti, 222, 223. Wilk. Con. iv. 260. Camden, 334—344, 406. Ellis, 2d. Ser. iii. 93.

### CHAPTER III.

**Persecution of the puritans—The catholics—And the anabaptists—Revolutions in Scotland—Morton is executed for the murder of Darrius—Plots for the liberation of Mary Stuart—Execution of Arden and Throckmorton—Penal enactments—History of Parry—His execution—Flight and condemnation of the earl of Arundel—Tragical death of the earl of Northumberland.**

IN the preceding chapters the reader has witnessed the conduct of the English queen, as the ally of the insurgent religionists in France and the Netherlands. But, if for political objects she deemed it advisable to countenance their attempts against the authority of their sovereigns, she still retained the most rooted antipathy to their discipline and doctrine; and, in proportion as their brethren, the English puritans, laboured to establish the reform of Geneva at home, she employed all the power of the crown to check their zeal, and to punish their disobedience. Year after year the most menacing proclamations were issued; first one, then another diocese was "purged;" and the deprived ministers clamorously complained of the hardness of their fate, of the severity of the commissioners, and of the extortions practised in the ecclesiastical courts.

I. Had the queen, however, confined herself to the deprivation of the nonconformists, she might perhaps have justified her conduct by the principle, that those who refuse to adopt the discipline, cannot expect to be employed as the ministers of the established church. But her orthodoxy, or that of her advisers, proceeded further. All her subjects were required to submit to

the superior judgment of their sovereign, and to practise that religious worship which she practised. Every other form of service, whether it were that of Geneva in its evangelical purity, or the mass with its supposed idolatry, was strictly forbidden; and both the catholic and the puritan were made liable to the severest penalties, if they presumed to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. It must appear singular that so intolerant a system should be enforced by men who loudly condemned the proceedings of the last reign; but in its defence they alleged an argument founded on the distinction between internal and external worship. The queen, they said, "would not dive into 'consciences.'" Internally, her subjects might believe, might worship, as they pleased. All that she required was external conformity to the law. *That* she had a right to exact. If any man refused, the fault was his own; he suffered not for conscience' sake, but for his obstinacy and his disobedience. That this miserable sophism should have satisfied the judgment of those who employed it, can hardly be credited: yet it was ostentatiously brought forward in proclamations; and was confidently urged by the English agents in their communications to foreign courts\*.

The puritans had many friends in the house of commons, who powerfully advocated their cause, and in every session covered the table with bills for a further reformation; but the queen as often checked their zeal, sometimes reprimanding them personally, sometimes rebidding the house to proceed, and sometimes ordering the bills themselves to be surrendered into her hands. She found a willing and able coadjutor in the archbishop, who defended, with vigour, the interests of the church over which he presided; and who, though he had occasionally to lament the caprice of his sovereign,

\* Strype, i. 582. Even Walsingham, though he says that the queen thinks consciences are not to be forced but won, adds, that "as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity, she would suffer but the exercise of one religion." Cabala, 407.

kept her, by his counsels and perseverance, true to the cause of the hierarchy. For a while the dissidents cherished the hope of ultimate success: but their patience was gradually exhausted; and disappointment urged the zealots among them to expressions of rancour, and acts of violence, which their brethren of more sober judgment condemned. Pamphlets, abounding in the most scurrilous language, were published; and Burchet, a student of the Middle Temple, in a fit of religious frenzy, murdered Hawkins, an officer, in the open street. 1573. He had mistaken his victim for Hatton, the new fa-<sup>Oct.</sup> vourite; and boasted aloud that he had slain the champion of papistry, and the enemy of the Gospel\*. The blood of Hawkins alarmed the archbishop; an attempt was made to prove the existence of a conspiracy against his life; and three divines of ultra-reforming principles were apprehended. But the council, after mature de-<sup>1574.</sup> liberation, pronounced the documents forgeries, and <sup>June.</sup> discharged the prisoners †. The death of archbishop Parker was followed by the promotion of Grindall, a <sup>1575</sup> prelate, from whose previous indulgence, and secret <sup>May</sup> leaning to the Genevan theology, the puritans promised <sup>17.</sup> themselves forbearance, if not protection. But the queen in a short time suspected the orthodoxy of the new metropolitan. He had always approved of certain meetings, called prophesyings, in which the neighbouring clergymen assembled to discuss religious subjects. The queen condemned them as nurseries of disobedience and sectarianism. When she ordered their suppression, <sup>1577</sup> Grindall remonstrated. Her pride, or her jealousy, was <sup>May</sup> offended; she suspended him from the exercise of his <sup>7.</sup>

\* Burchet was at first tried for heresy, and escaped the stake by abjuring the opinions attributed to him. The queen then determined to execute him by martial law; the warrant was even made out, but was recalled at the remonstrance of some of the council. However, Burchet relieved her from her trouble; for, taking his keeper Longworth to be Hatton, he knocked out the man's brains with a fire-brand: and was, in consequence, condemned and executed for murder. It is evident that he was insane, Camden, 284. Stow, 677.

† Collier, 547.

authority : a threat of deprivation was added ; and more than two years elapsed before he was restored, at his humble petition, and after a sincere acknowledgment of his offence. He could not, however, recover her favour : in a short time he received a royal order to resign his see ; and, if he was spared the mortification, it was only by his death, which had been hastened through anxiety of mind, and the enmity of his sovereign \*. He was succeeded by a prelate of a more stern and orthodox character, archbishop Whitgift, whose pen had already proved him an able champion of the establishment, and whose vigilance and intrepidity in his new office detected the secret attempts, and defeated the open attacks, of its adversaries. As a test of orthodoxy, he proposed a subscription to three articles, which asserted that the queen was the supreme head of the church, that the ordinal and book of common prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God, and that the thirty-nine articles were to be admitted as agreeable to the holy Scriptures. To these the puritans opposed others : but the archbishop suspended the clergymen who refused to subscribe ; and, in defiance of the clamour of his enemies, and of the intrigues of their friends in the council, prevented every projected change in the constitution or the discipline of the church †.

To restrain the violence of the dissident writers, an act had been recently passed, making it felony “ to write, print, or set forth, any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any false or seditious matter to the defamation of the queen’s majesty, or the encouraging of insurrection or rebellion within the realm‡.” That a polemical treatise against parts of

\* Strype’s Grindall, 231. 272. 277. 386. Lausdowne MSS. xxxvii. 18. xxxviii. 69. Camden assures us, that the real cause of his disgrace was his condemnation of the unlawful marriage of Guallo, the celebrated physician of Leicester, who from that moment laboured to effect his death. Grindall was the founder of the school at St. Bees, in Cumberland. Camden, 403.

† Camden, 404. Strype’s Parker, 115. Whitgift, 137.

‡ Stat. of Realm, iv. 659.

the book of common prayer should come within the operation of this statute, will excite surprise: but it was held that such a tract, by endeavouring to subvert the constitution of the church and the supremacy of the queen, tended to the encouragement of rebellion, and the defamation of the sovereign. Thacker and Copping, two non-conforming ministers, and Wilsford, their lay disciple, were indicted and convicted under the statute. **June** Wilsford saved his life by taking the oath of supremacy; **4.** the others refused, and died martyrs to their religious **6.** principles\*.

II. But the sufferings of the puritans bore no comparison with those of the catholics. The puritans were considered as brethren, whose transgressions sprung from an exuberance of zeal; the catholics as idolaters, whose worship could not be tolerated by the true servants of the Almighty: the poverty of the former offered no reward; the wealth of the latter presented an alluring bait to the orthodoxy of their persecutors. As early as the year 1563 the attention of the emperor Ferdinand had been called to the sufferings of the English catho- **Sept.** lics. In different letters he recommended to the queen **24.** the practice of toleration, solicited her indulgence in favour of the deprived bishops, and exhorted her to grant one church at least in each populous town for the exercise of the catholic worship. To the first of these requests she replied, that, by screening the prelates from the penalties to which they were liable by law, she had already fulfilled his wish: to the other, that such a concession was contrary to her conscience: "it was a thing "evil in itself, and unprofitable to those for whom it was "required †."

Many of the more zealous or more timid among the

\* These men were Brownists, a class of ultra-puritans, who, looking upon the church of England as an unchristian church, refused to communicate with it. Neal, c. vi. Strype, iii. 186.

† Strype, i. 370. Pollini, 353. The penalties to which the queen alluded were those incurred by the refusal of the oath of supremacy. She had forbidden it to be tendered to the deprived prelates.

catholics sought, with their families, an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court\*. Those who remained might be divided into two classes. Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established service; and endeavoured to elude the charge of hypocrisy, by maintaining, from the words of the queen's proclamation, that such attendance was with them nothing more than the discharge of a civil duty, an expression of their obedience to the letter of the law. But this evasion did not satisfy more timorous consciences. The greater number abstained from a worship which they disapproved, and were, in consequence, compelled to pass their lives in alarm and solicitude. They lay at the mercy of their neighbours and enemies; they were daily watched by the pursuivants; they were liable at any hour to be hurried before the courts of high commission, to be interrogated upon oath, how often they had been at church, and when, or where, they had received the sacrament; to be condemned as recusants to fines and imprisonment, or as persons reconciled to forfeiture and confinement for life†. Their terrors were renewed every year by proclamations, or secret messages, calling upon the magistrates, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical commissioners, to redouble their vigilance, and enforce the laws respecting religion. Private houses were searched to discover priests or persons assisting at mass. The foreign ambassadors complained of the violation of their privileges, by the intrusion of the pur-

\* In Strype (ii. App. 102) may be seen a list of fugitives, comprehending sixty-eight names, certified for this purpose into the exchequer.

† Among those imprisoned and fined, were Hastings lord Loughborough, sir Edward Waldegrave, sir Thomas Fitzherbert, sir Edward Stanley, sir John Southworth, the ladies Waldegrave, Wharton, Carew, Brookes, Morlev, Jarmin, Browne, Guilford, &c. Strype, i. 253, 327. ii. 110, 255, 263, 408, 416, 495. Strype's Grindall, 138, 151, 152. In Haynes is a singular letter to the council from the bishops of London and Ely; who, having examined the persons taken at mass at lady Carew's, suggested that the priest should be tortured, to make him confess the names of those who had attended on other occasions. Haynes, 365.

suivants into their chapels \*; and even Elizabeth herself, to give the example, occasionally condescended to commit to prison the recusants, who were denounced to her in the course of her progresses †.

Queen Mary's priests, as the ancient non-conforming clergy were called, had continued for years to exercise their functions in private houses, at considerable risk to themselves and their patrons. But death annually thinned their numbers; the deprived bishops were prevented from ordaining others to succeed in their places; and it was confidently expected that, in the course of a short time, the catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom ‡. If both were perpetuated, it was owing to the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman, of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's hall in Oxford. To him it occurred, that colleges might be opened abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the catholics at home. His plan was approved by his friends; several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; and Allen established himself in the university of Douay. 1568. At first he had only six companions: the number was multiplied by the accession of many among the exiles, and of still more from the English universities; and in

\* Strype, i. 327. ii. 212. 410. Strype's Whitgift, 90. l. 5, 7.

† "Her majestie hath served God with great zeale and comfortable examples; for by her counsaile two notorious papists, younge Rooke-woode, and one Downes, a gentleman, were both comytted, thone to the town prison at Norwyche, the other to the countrie prison there, for obstynate papistrie; and vii. more gents. of worship were comytted to several houses in Norwyche as prisoners; two of the Lovells, another Downes, one Beningsfield, one Pary, and too others not worthe memory, for baddness of belyffe." The queen lodged at Rookewoode's house, at Euston; and, thanking him for the lodging, gave him her hand to kiss. "But my lord chamberlayn (the earl of Sussex,) noblye and gravely, understanding that he was excommunicated for papistrie, cawled him before him; demanded of him how he durst presume to attempt her real presence, he, unlytt to accompany any Crystyan person: forthwith sayd he was fyttter for a payre of stocks; commanded him out of the court, and at Norwyche he was comytted." Lodge, ii. 186. Aug. 30, 1578.

‡ Allen's reply to Burghley's "Execution of Justice," c. iii.



a short time the new college contained no fewer than one hundred and fifty members, many of them eminent scholars, all animated with zeal for the propagation of that religion, on account of which they had abandoned their own country, and sought an asylum in a foreign clime. Their object was to study theology, to receive orders, and to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained; and in the course of the first five years Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom\*.

The success of this establishment disconcerted the lords of the council, who resolved to try the influence of terror by subjecting the missionaries and their abettors to the utmost severity of the law. The first victim was Cuthbert Mayne†, a priest in Cornwall, who was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass at Gol-  
 1577. den, near Truro, the house of Mr. Tregean. Of these  
 Sept. 16. heinous offences no satisfactory evidence was offered: but the court informed the jury that where proof could not be procured strong presumption might supply its place; and a verdict of guilty was accordingly returned. This was the first capital conviction under the statute; and, as one of the two judges disputed the legality of the proceedings, the question was referred to the lords of the council, who, after a suspense of two months, ordered the judgment to be carried into execution. Mayne suffered with con-

\* Camden (347) has given an account of the seminarists, which appears to be taken from the declamatory invectives of the crown lawyers, during the trials of the missionaries. They universally denied these charges, which were victoriously answered by Dr. Allen, in a tract entitled "Apology and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges," &c. See extracts from it in Mr. Butler's valuable "Memoirs of the English Catholics," i. 211.

† It should be observed that Mayne, though the first *seminary* priest who suffered, had been preceded by Thomas Woodhouse, one of queen Mary's priests, who, on June 19, 1573, was drawn, hanged and butchered alive, at Tyburn, for the denial of the queen's supremacy. Stowe, 677. Gonzales, 136. Memorias, 384.

stancy the cruel death of a traitor\*. With him had been condemned in a premunire fifteen persons, partly neighbours and partly servants, as aiders and abettors of his treason: and at the next assizes Tregean himself received the same judgment. He was immediately cast into prison in the common jail at Launceston, and his estate was seized by the crown. He had once enjoyed the favour but afterwards incurred the enmity of the queen; now, no solicitation could obtain from her any alleviation of his fate. For eight-and-twenty years he remained a prisoner either at Launceston, or in the Fleet in London. After her death he obtained his liberty from James at the solicitation of the king of Spain, but on condition that he should expatriate himself for ever. The old man hastened to the court of his benefactor, from whom he received a gracious welcome and a munificent provision†.

The impulse was now given. The fate of Mayne and Tregean stimulated the zeal of those who professed to be the adversaries of popery. A more active search was made after recusants; every jail in the kingdom numbered among its inmates prisoners for religion; and on one occasion not fewer than twenty catholics of family and fortune perished of an infectious disease in the castle of York‡. Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a <sup>Feb.</sup> 1578. 3.

\* Bridgewater. 34. 35. Dodd, ii. 92—4, and the old edition of the State Trials. The bull was merely a copy of a jubilee which Mayne said he had bought through curiosity at a shop.

† Dodd, ii. 169—172. and *De vita Francisci Tregeon*. Edidit F. Plunquetus nepos ejus maternus Olisipone, Anno. 1655. From Madrid Tregean went to Lisbon for the benefit of his health, and died there on the 25th Sep. 1608. His children made several, but fruitless attempts to recover their father's property from Charles I.

‡ Bridgewater, 38. 298. From the accumulation of filth, and want of ventilation, such diseases were common in the prisons of this period. A similar fate befel the catholics in Newgate, in July, 1580. (Sirrye, iii. App. 151.) But the most singular instance occurred at Oxford, on July 6, 1577, at the trial of Jenks, a catholic bookseller. Suddenly the two judges, the sheriff, the undersheriff, four magistrates, most of the jur., and many of the spectators, were seized with a most violent pain in the head and stomach, which was succeeded by delirium, and in the course of thirty hours ended in death. This disease was not extirpated till the 12th of August; and, what is more remarkable, it was confined to the

layman, who, by force of torture, or through captious interrogations, had been led to a denial of the queen's supremacy, were drawn, hanged, and quartered.

But the experience of ages has proved that such severities cannot damp the ardour of religious zeal. Missionaries poured into the kingdom. Gregory XIII. April established an additional seminary in Rome\*; and 29. Mercurianus, the general of the jesuits, assented to the request of Allen, that the members of his order might share in the dangers and the glory of the mission. For this purpose he selected Robert Persons and Edward Campian, two Englishmen of distinguished merit and 1580. ability. Their arrival awakened the suspicion of the June queen and of the council: it was believed, or at least 22. pretended, that they had come with the same traitorous object as Sanders, who in the preceding year had animated the insurgents in Ireland to oppose the authority of the sovereign; and the pursuivants were stimulated with promises and threats to seek out and apprehend the two missionaries. At the same time the queen, by July 15. proclamation, commanded every man, whose children, relations, or wards, had gone beyond the sea for education, to make a return of their names to the ordinary, and to recall them within four months; and warned all persons

12th of August; and, what is more remarkable, it was confined to the male sex, and in general to persons in respectable situations in life. See Camden, 316. Lodge, ii. 160. Wood, i. 294. Bridgewater, 37.

\* The hospital of Santo Spirito, erected in 1294, stands on the very site of the ancient Saxon school, or hospital for Saxon pilgrims, which was totally destroyed in the celebrated conflagration of the Borgo in 847. In its place was afterwards established an hospital for travellers and infirm persons of the English nation in Trastevere, near the church of San Grisogono; and a few years later, another in the city of Rome, in the Via di Monserrato, called the hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas. In the year 1464 these two establishments were united under the same warden; and in 1579 Gregory XIII. opened them to the English exiles, who had resorted to Rome, to study in the university. On the 23d of April, 1579, he dissolved the hospitals, and in their place erected a college giving to it the revenue of the former establishments, about 1400 crowns per annum, and adding a yearly pension of 3000 crowns, till its income from other sources should reach to that amount. See Mr. Tierney's edition of Dodd, iii. 168, note.

whomsoever, that if they knew or heard of any jesuit or seminarist in the kingdom, and either presumed to harbour him, or did not reveal where he was concealed, they should be prosecuted and punished as abettors of treason\*.

When the parliament assembled, the ministers called 1581 on the two houses for laws of greater severity, to defeat Jan. the devices of the pope, who had sent jesuits into the 26. realm, to preach a corrupt doctrine, and to sow under the cover of that doctrine the seeds of sedition†. Every measure which they proposed was readily adopted. It was enacted, 1°. that all persons, possessing, or pretending to possess, or to exercise, the power of absolving, or of withdrawing others from the established religion, or suffering themselves to be so withdrawn, should, together with their procurers and counsellors, suffer the penalties of high treason; 2°. that the punishment for saying mass should be increased to the payment of 200 marks, and one year's imprisonment; of hearing mass to 100 marks, and imprisonment for the same period: 3°. that the fine for absence from church should be fixed at 20 pounds per month (which was adjudged to mean a lunar month), and that, if the absence were prolonged to an entire year, the recusant should be obliged to find two securities for his good behaviour in 200*l.* each: and 4°. that to prevent the concealment of priests as tutors or schoolmasters in private families, every person, acting in such capacity without the approbation of the ordinary, should be liable to a year's imprisonment, and the person who employed him to a fine of ten pounds per month‡. It is plain that, if these provisions had been fully executed, the profession of the catholic creed must, in a few years, have been entirely extinguished.

\* Camden, 348. Sanders, 384. At this time a letter was sent to sir Henry Sydney, president of Wales, reprehending him for his tardiness in executing the commission against the catholics, and informing him that "his doings were narrowly observed." Sydney Papers, i. 276.

† D'Ewes, 286.

‡ St. 23 Eliz. c. 1.

Persons and Campian, before they separated, had, in answer to the queen's proclamation, explained in writing the motives which induced them to visit their native country. Each confided his own paper to the care of a friend, with an injunction not to make it public, unless the writer were apprehended and thrown into prison. But the zeal of Pound, one of these friends, did not allow him to obey. He betrayed his trust, and published the paper of Campian under the title of a letter to the lords of the council. In it the missionary asserted that he was come solely to exercise the spiritual functions of the priesthood, and had been strictly forbidden to meddle with worldly concerns or affairs of state; requested permission to dispute on religion before the queen, the council, and the two universities; and declared that all the jesuits in the world had made a holy league to brave every danger, suffer every kind of torment, and shed their blood, if it were necessary, for the restoration and propagation of the catholic faith. The bold tone of this letter gave considerable offence, which was greatly increased by the publication of another tract from the pen of the same writer, enumerating ten reasons on which he founded his hope of victory in the proposed dispute before the universities\*.

For nearly a year Campian eluded the pursuit of his enemies; but during that time the catholics had been exposed to severities, of which they had previously no conception. The names of all the recusants in each parish, amounting to about fifty thousand, had been returned to the council: the magistrates were repeatedly blamed for their want of activity and success; and the prisons in every county were filled with persons suspected as priests, or harbourers of priests, or delinquents against

\* Both the letter to the council, and the tract addressed to the universities, may be seen in Bridgewater, i. 2. 5—19. An incorrect and mutilated copy was published by Strype, iii. App. 13. Bartoli has given an abstract of the letter of Persons, p. 13. Other letters of the two missionaries may be found in Bridgewater, p. 3. and in Strype, though with an erroneous date and address, Vol. iii. App. 151.

one or other of the penal laws. No man could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house; where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open; and the pursuivants, in separate divisions, hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscoting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers, and coffers, and made every search which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, and vestments, appropriated to the catholic worship. To resist or to remonstrate was only to provoke additional aggression. All the inmates were interrogated: their persons were searched, under the pretext that superstitious articles might be concealed among their clothes; and there are instances on record of females of rank, whose reason and lives were endangered from the brutality of the officers\*. At length Campian was taken at Lyfford in Berkshire, July 17 and conveyed in procession to the Tower: Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him; but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and his own, he retired beyond the sea.

The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations: in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity†. The catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower before he was placed on the rack; and, if he were supposed to be a priest, was interrogated why he had come to England, where he resided, whom he had reconciled, what he had learned from the confession of

\* By such means lady Nevil was frightened to death in Holborn, and Mrs. Vavasor lost her reason in York. See Bridgewater, 34. 55. 289. 299. 319. Bartoli, 118—121. See Note (D).

† See numerous instances in Bridgewater, 56. 176. 179. 191. 196. 222, &c., and Note (E) at the end of the volume. In 1578 Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, and vice-president of Wales, was ordered to employ torture to force answers from catholics suspected of having heard mass. Strype's Whitgift, 83.

others, and in what places his colleagues were concealed\*. The second time that Campian suffered the torture, he made disclosures which he deemed of no importance, but which report exaggerated and misrepresented. His brethren were scandalized; and, for their satisfaction, he protested in a letter to a friend, that, though he had mentioned the names of certain gentlemen in whose houses he had been received, yet "he had never discovered any secrets there declared, "and never would, come rack, come rope †." This letter was intercepted; and the "secrets" were interpreted to allude to some mysterious conspiracy against the queen. Campian was twice more stretched on the rack; he was kept on that engine of torture till it was thought he had expired; but he always persisted in the assertion, that the secrets to which he had alluded regarded not matters of state, but the private sins of individuals, which they had confided to him in confession, and which he was forbidden to reveal by all laws, both human and divine ‡.

Elizabeth herself had been desirous to see this celebrated man. By her order he was secretly brought one evening from the Tower, and introduced to her at the house of the earl of Leicester, in the presence of that no-

\* Bridgewater, 27. 197. 296.

† "We have gotten from Campian knowledge of all his peregrination in England—Yorkshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, Buckingham, &c. We have sent for his hosts in all countreys." Letter in Digges, Aug. 10, p. 1581. The confession itself may be seen in Strype, iii. 578. He asserted on the scaffold that it had been drawn from him by the assurance of the commissioners given upon oath, that his harbourers should not be molested. (Bridgewater, 65.) They were, however, summoned before the council, as we have seen; and some of them were imprisoned and severely fined. Strype, iii. 126. Strype's Parker, 376. Digges, 390. In his letter to Pound, he expressed his sorrow for his weakness and credulity. Howell's State Trials, 1060.

‡ Howell, *ibid.* Between the torturings he had been several times called to dispute on religion, sometimes publicly in the chapel, and sometimes in private. Camden says that he hardly supported his reputation (*expectationem excitatam ægre sustinuit*, 349); the catholic writers boast of his success, and appeal to the conversions by which the conferences were followed. Bartoli, 167. 183. Two of the audience were committed to prison, because they said that Campian "was discreet and learned, "and disputed very well." Strype's Aylmer, App. ii.

bleman, of the earl of Bedford, and of the two secretaries. She asked him if he acknowledged her for queen. He replied, not only for queen, but for his lawful queen. She then inquired if he believed that the pope could excommunicate her lawfully. He answered that he was not a sufficient umpire to decide in a controversy between her majesty and the pope. It was a question which divided the best divines in christendom. In his own opinion, if the pope were to excommunicate her, it might be insufficient, as he might err. By his ordinary power he could not excommunicate princes. Whether he could by that power which he sometimes exercised in extraordinary emergencies, was a difficult and doubtful question, to which some persons had answered in the affirmative\*.

At length Campian, twelve other priests, and one Nov 12 layman, collected from different prisons, were arraigned in two separate bodies. They had come prepared to profess their religious belief: to their astonishment they were indicted for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the church and state, and to withdraw the subjects from the allegiance due to the sovereign. Even the particulars were specified; the places, Rome and Rheims; the time, the months of March and April in the preceding year; and their very journey from Rheims to England, supposed to have been begun on the 8th of May last. It is not difficult to account for the surprise of the prisoners. Several among them had not been out of England for many years; several had never visited Rheims or Rome in their lives; some had not even seen each other before they met at the bar. They declared that, whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence; and, in proof of the assertion, remarked that liberty had been previously offered

\* Bartoli, 160. Howell's State Trials, 1662. It appears, from numerous instances, that, in the language of the age, deposition was supposed to be included in the meaning of the word "excommunication," when applied to the queen.



to each individual among them, provided he would conform to the established church.

The report of their trial must convince every reasonable man of their innocence. Campian, with his usual ability and eloquence, vindicated the missionaries from the charge of disloyalty, and showed that not an atom of evidence had been adduced to connect himself and his companions with any attempt against the life or the safety of the queen. But the public mind had been prepared to believe in the existence of the conspiracy by a succession of arrests, sermons, and proclamations; the absence of proof was amply supplied by the invectives, the conjectures, and the declamations of the lawyers for the crown; and the jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Before judgment was pronounced, Lancaster, a protestant barrister, rose and made oath, that Colleton, one of the number, had consulted him in his chambers in London on the very day on which he was charged with having conspired at Rheims. Colleton was remanded; the others were adjudged to suffer the death of traitors\*.

An attempt was, however, made to save the lives of the prisoners. Some of the council objected that, to put to death so many catholic priests at a time when the duke of Anjou was in London, would be to offer an insult to the prince whom the queen had chosen for her husband; but Burghley contended that it was necessary to allay the apprehensions of the protestants. Let some at least pay the penalty of their treason. It would prove to the world that the queen was ready to sacrifice her dearest inclinations to the safety of her religion. Dec. 1. His opinion prevailed†. Campian, Sherwin, and Briant were selected for execution, and suffered the punishment of traitors, asserting their innocence, and praying with their last breath for the queen as their

\* State Trials, 1049. 1072. Bridgewater, 219. 304—307.

† Camden, 379. Bartoli, 209.

legitimate sovereign. The other nine, who were permitted to remain several months under sentence of death, were repeatedly examined by commissioners, and required to declare their opinions respecting the deposing power of the pontiff, and what part they would take in case of an attempt to put the papal bull in execution\*. Bosgrave, a jesuit, Rishton, a priest, and Orton, a layman, gave satisfactory answers; they saved their lives, but did not recover their liberty. The other seven replied, that their opinions had nothing to do with the crime for which they had been unjustly condemned; that they were incompetent to determine the controversy between the pope and their sovereign; that they believed, as the catholic church believed, and would on all occasions behave as catholic priests ought to behave. These answers were deemed evasive; and they all suffered at Tyburn, protesting, as their companions had already done, that they were innocent of treason, and dutiful subjects to their sovereign. <sup>1582, May 30.</sup>

That the conspiracy with which these men were charged was a fiction cannot be doubted. They had come to England under a prohibition to take any part in secular concerns, and with the sole view of exercising the spiritual functions of the priesthood. This they deemed a sacred duty, and for this they generously risked their liberty and their lives. Even their principal accuser afterwards vindicated their innocence; and, in excuse for his own falsehood, alleged the terror that seized him when he was led to the foot of the rack, and saw himself surrounded with the instruments of torture†. At the same time it must be owned that the

\* On the 1st of April the queen, to silence the murmurs of the public, issued a proclamation, declaring that Campian and his fellow-prisoners had been justly put to death; and stating, in proof of their treasonable intentions, the queries which had been put to him and his companions, and the answers which they had returned. Both may be seen in Howell's State Trials, i. 1078, and in Mr. Butler's Memoirs of the British Catholics, i. 200. App. 360. I may observe, that the answers attributed to Campian are very different from those which at his trial he asserted that he had given.

† Nichols was a protestant, who, going abroad, abjured his religion to

answers which six of them gave to the queries were far from satisfactory. Their hesitation to deny the opposing power (a power then indeed maintained by the greater number of divines in catholic kingdoms) rendered their loyalty very problematical, in case of an attempt to enforce the bull by any foreign prince. It furnished sufficient reason to watch their conduct with an eye of jealousy, and to require security for their good behaviour on the appearance of danger, but could not justify their execution for an imaginary offence. Men are not to be put to death now, because it is barely possible that in one particular contingency they may prove traitors hereafter. The proper remedy would have been to offer liberty of conscience to all catholics who would abjure the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. But this was an effort of liberality not to be expected in an intolerant age, and from the advocates of a principle which naturally led to persecution; that the catholic worship was idolatry; and that even to connive at idolatry was a damnable crime which could not fail to draw down the severest judgments of heaven, both on the queen, and the nation †.

gain admission into the seminaries, and, being ejected for misconduct, returned to England. He was immediately arrested, and conformed. His conversion was much talked of. He was described as a jesuit, and preacher to the pope; and the bishops were compelled by the council to subscribe 50*l.* per annum for his maintenance, till he could be provided for in the church. (Strype's Grindall, 262.) He made many discoveries and published a book replete with calumnies against the pontiff and the seminarists. Yet he was not produced at the trial: soon afterwards he recalled his charges against the missionaries, and crossed the sea to France. At Rouen he was thrown into prison, whence he wrote several letters to Dr. Allen, and confessed that all he had said or done proceeded from the fear of the rack. "It is not," he says, "I assure you, a pleasant thing to be stretched on the rack till the body becomes almost two feet longer than nature made it." If we may believe him Stubbs supplied the materials of his book, and Wilkinson added the marginal notes. Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, inserted in his confession names that he had never heard, and suppressed some and altered others of his answers. See his letters in Bridgewater, 230—234. Also Bartoli, 119, 137, 138.

† Mr. Hallam remarks, as an extenuating circumstance distinguishing this persecution from that of Mary and of the house of Austria, that no woman was put to death under the penal code, so far as he remembers. (Const. Hist. i. 197. note.) The fact, however, is, that Margaret Clitheroe was exe-

III. There was nothing in the creeds of the puritans or of the catholics which, according to law, could subject them to the pains of heresy ; but the anabaptists were still doomed to suffer at the stake under Elizabeth, as their predecessors had suffered under her father and brother. They formed a numerous sect in the maritime provinces of the Netherlands, and under the cover of the Dutch church in London, occasionally introduced themselves into England. On three different occasions, the queen, by proclamation, ordered all persons, whether foreigners or natives, who had embraced the opinions of the anabaptists, to leave the kingdom within twenty days, under pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, and other penalties. At the suggestion of Grindall, bishop of London, domiciliary visits were made through all the parishes of the metropolis ; and every householder was compelled to return a list of the strangers who lodged with him, their occupations, characters, and religious principles \*. In 1574 Sandys, his successor, delivered sixteen anabaptists to the lord mayor, to be transported out of the kingdom : the next year, on Easter-day, 1575, twenty-seven others were apprehended, by his order, at April their devotions in a house near Aldgate ; and the queen issued a commission to him and the bishop of Rochester, the master of the Rolls, and two magistrates, to proceed against them as suspected of heresy. On examination it was found that they rejected the baptism of infants, denied that Christ assumed flesh of the Virgin, and taught that no christian ought to take an oath, or to accept the office of magistrate. Some were dismissed with a reprimand ; five, on their repentance, were adjudged to bear fagots, and to recant at St. Paul's cross ; and one woman and ten men were condemned to the

executed in 1586, Margaret Ward in 1588, and Anne Line in 1601. Mrs. Wells received sentence of death in 1591, and died in prison. Four other catholic gentlewomen were condemned at different times, but reprieved ; two of whom obtained a pardon from James I. Challoner, vol. i. 189. 222. 226.

\* Strype's Grindall, 122—124.

- flames: of whom the woman saved her life by abjuring her errors; the men, instead of being burnt at the stake, were sent out of the kingdom\*. But neither argument nor terror could subdue the obstinacy of Peeters and Turwert, who persisted in maintaining the truth of their doctrines. The queen, calling to mind "that she was
- July 15. "head of the church, that it was her duty to extirpate error, and that heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ, that they may not corrupt others †," signed a warrant to the sheriffs; and the two unfortunate men perished in the flames of Smithfield, amidst the applause of an immense concourse of spectators.
22. Four years afterwards, for the profession of similar opinions, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, who had been pronounced an obstinate heretic by the bishop of Norwich, was burnt in the ditch of that city; and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities, who had been convicted of uttering blasphemies against the divinity of Christ ‡.

May 20. It is now time to return to the unfortunate Mary Stuart. For several years, her adversary Morton, under the powerful shield of Elizabeth, had reigned without control in Scotland, while the captive queen was compelled to suffer all the horrors of a rigorous and protracted imprisonment in the castle at Sheffield §. The number of her attendants was diminished, the allowance for her table reduced: her correspondence was intercepted and detained by the agents of the ministers; and foreigners, frequently even the French ambassador, were refused access to her presence. She was never permitted to quit her own apartments, unless it were for the purpose of walking in the court-yard, or on the leads; and then an hour's previous notice of her intention was required, that the earl or his countess might accom-

\* Stowe, 678. Wright, ii. 9.

† Rymer, xv. 740, 741.

‡ Stowe, 679. 685. Collier, 569.

§ She had been placed there in Dec. 1570.

pany her. So rigorous a confinement, joined with the anxiety resulting from her ignorance of the passing events in which she might be deeply interested, rapidly impaired her health, till she was compelled through weakness to pass most of her time in bed, and was removed in a chair whenever she wished to change her apartment. Elizabeth, though she graciously accepted from her captive presents of needle-work and of Parisian dresses, invariably eluded or rejected every petition for a mitigation of the severity of her confinement\*.

But if Mary suffered, her royal oppressor was not free from uneasiness. She had now convinced herself that her own safety was irreconcilable with the deliverance or the escape of the Scottish queen; and the fear of the latter event proved to her an exhaustless source of apprehension, of jealousy, and of torment. Among the nobility there was no one in whom she reposed greater confidence than the earl of Shrewsbury, Yet she mistrusted even him. She had been formerly warned of the "alluring graces" of Mary†; and she feared that he might be seduced from her service by the attractions of her rival. He was frequently reprimanded for his supposed negligence; at her recommendation he was compelled to take into his household persons whom he knew to be spies upon his conduct; and, while he guarded Mary Stuart, he was himself surrounded with guards, the secret agents of the queen, in the neighbourhood of his residence‡.

But, what will probably appear still more extraordinary, Burghley himself, the sworn enemy of Mary, the author of most of her wrongs, and the adviser of her death, could not escape the jealousy of his mistress. On

\* Lodge, ii. 87, 121, 129.

† Haynes, 511. She "doubted lest her fayre speche shuld dysseave 'him.'" Lodge, ii. 156.

‡ Lodge, ii. 83, 85, 116, 163, 275. When his daughter-in-law was confined, he christened the child himself, that he might not be accused of introducing strangers, if he had sent for a clergyman, 128.

two occasions he had recourse to the waters of Buxton to relieve the gout. Elizabeth persuaded herself that the real object of his journeys was to find occasion of intriguing secretly with Mary. She opened to him her suspicion; reprimanded him in a tone of extreme severity, and was long before she would give credit to his repeated denials of the charge\*.

On the part of the Scottish adherents of the captive, the English queen was free from alarm, so long as Morton retained the regency. But his rapacity had excited the murmurs, and his submission to Elizabeth had wounded the pride, of the nation. The former prompted him to debase the coin, to multiply the forfeitures of real or pretended transgressors, and to appropriate to his own benefit the property of the church: the latter induced him to humble himself to the lieutenant of the queen of England, in satisfaction for some unintentional offence, arising out of an affray on the borders. At length the earls of Argyle and Athol obtained access to the young king; and James, by their persuasion, though he was but twelve years old, assumed the government, summoned the noblemen of their party to meet him in Stirling, and sent to 1578. Morton an order to resign his authority. He obeyed Mar. with apparent cheerfulness; but in three months his 12. intrigues with the family of Erskine introduced him into the castle of Stirling, gave him possession of the July royal person, and enabled him, as head of the council, to 16. exercise again the power which he had so recently lost. Aug. The two parties met with hostile intentions in the field; 14. they were reconciled by the intervention of the English

\* Lodge, ii. 131. 132. To illustrate the system of espionage which prevailed at this period, Burghley, though in reality prime minister, having occasion to write a confidential letter to the earl of Shrewsbury on some domestic arrangements, was compelled to keep it by him an entire week, before he found a messenger to whom he dared to trust it, through the danger of its being intercepted and sent to the queen. 134. "Who will write, when his letters shall be opened by the way, and construed at pleasure, or rather displeasure?" Harrington to Standen, Feb. 20, 1600. Nugæ Ant. i. 309. also 314. 318.

ambassador; and Athol, the chief author of his late April disgrace, after an entertainment at Morton's table, 28. died in a few days of poison. Secure of the ascendancy, he now gave the reins to his avarice and resentment; and the chiefs of the Hamiltons, who reposed 157- in security under the protection of the treaty of Perth, were compelled to save their lives by a speedy flight into England. At this moment, however, appeared an unexpected rival to awaken his jealousy. Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigny, and nephew of Lennox, the former regent, arrived from France: his youth and accomplishments captivated James; and the favourite was created first earl, then duke of Lennox, and loaded with honours and appointments. He insinuated to the king, that it was the object of Morton to convey him into England; and he sent to France for evidence to prove that the late regent had been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. Morton, on his side, published that Lennox was in reality an agent of the duke of Guise; that the object of his mission was to effect a change of the national religion, to marry James to some foreign princess, and to persuade him to resign the sceptre into the hands of his mother. The English cabinet, alarmed for the 1580. safety, or believing the representations, of their friend, sent an ambassador to require the banishment of Lennox: but he returned without an audience, because he refused to deliver his message to the king in presence of the council. A Scottish ambassador, sent to apologize for this conduct, met with similar treatment, and was remanded with a sharp expostulation and supercilious admonition from Burghley\*.

Lennox, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose by the frown of the English queen. One day, when the young king was seated at the board with his council, James Stuart, captain of the guard, and son to lord Ochiltree, requested permission to speak

\* Camden 364.



to his sovereign. Being admitted, he fell on his knees, and accused James, earl of Morton, of having been guilty, act and part, of the murder of the king's father. Morton treated the charge and its author with sovereign contempt. But Stuart replied in language equally bold and abusive; the parties became heated; swords were drawn, and blood would have been shed had not the lords interposed, and, forcing them out of the council-chamber by opposite doors, delivered them to the guards. The justice-clerk now delivered his opinion, that an individual accused of treason must be committed till legal inquiry had been made. Morton was accordingly confined in Holyrood Dec. 31. House, and then conveyed to Dumbarton, of which 1581. fortress his enemy Lennox was governor\*. Randolph, Jan. the celebrated sower of sedition and treason, was des- 18. patched to Edinburgh. He solicited the life of Morton from the king, the council, and the estates; he described it as a favour which the queen deserved in return for the numerous benefits which she had conferred upon the nation; he attributed the charge to the jealousy of a rival; and he produced documents to prove that Lennox had associated with foreign princes to procure the invasion of England. He received for answer that his documents were forgeries, and that the king was bound in honour to let the trial proceed. Elizabeth ordered a body of English troops to march to the borders\*; and Randolph exhorted the earls of Angus and Marr, and the other lords in the English interest, to unsheath the sword in defence of their leader. Nor was he the only person employed to plead in favour of Morton, and to denounce the pernicious plans of Lennox. The prince of Orange commissioned William

\* Bowes Correspondence, 157, 161.

† "Two thousand foot, five hundred horse, for relief of *hir partie* "in Scotland, and (if) need be." Walsingham to sir Henry Sydney, February 28, 1581. The reader will notice "*hir partie*." Sydney Papers, i. 286.

Melville, the king of Navarre, Bothwell and Wemyss, to support the representations of the English agent. But James was inexorable. He summoned all his subjects to arms in defence of their country; the earl of Angus was ordered to retire beyond the Spey, and Marr to surrender the castle of Stirling. Stuart, the accuser, was created earl of Arran; and Randolph, who had, in two former missions, been sent out of the country, now fled to preserve his life\*. Mar 24.  
The queen, unable to raise up a formidable party in Scotland, and ashamed to make war for the sole purpose of preventing the course of public justice, recalled May 1. her forces.

The proofs against Morton consisted of parole and written evidence. The object of the first was to show June 1. that he had held a consultation respecting the murder of Darnley at Whittingham; that, when it was perpetrated, his cousin and confidential friend Archibald Douglas and his servant Binning, were actually employed; and that queen Mary, when she surrendered at Carberry hill, told him to his face that he was one of the assassins. The written evidence was his own bond of manrent, or bond to save Bothwell from the punishment of murder, produced by sir James Balfour, and a paper purporting to be the declaration of Bothwell himself on his death-bed in Denmark†. He was found

\* See his letter to the chancellor, in Strype, ii. App. 138. He says of Morton: "Nay, I cannot myself wish him any favour, if that be true that 'is said of him, and confessed by them in whom he had no small trust." It appears that he was accused not only of the death of Darnley, but of poisoning the earl of Athol, and of intending to imprison the king, and to kill Argyle, Lennox, and Montrose. Ibid.

† Consult Camden, 368, Arnot, Criminal Trials, 338, and Foster's letter in Chalmers, ii. 97. From the last, it appears that a declaration of Bothwell was produced at the trial. Bothwell died in 1576. A report prevailed, that on his death-bed he had solemnly declared Mary innocent of the murder, and named his real accomplices. She made attempts to procure a copy of this testament as it was called: one was believed to have been sent by the king of Denmark to Elizabeth, who suppressed it; another was supposed to have made its way into the Scottish court. That published by Keith deserves no credit. From internal evidence it is

guilty by the unanimous verdict of his peers: but the punishment of treason was commuted by the king into decapitation. In his prison he confessed to the ministers who attended him (but at the same time refused to sign the confession), that he had been twice solicited by Bothwell, twice by Archibald Douglas, to take an active part in the projected murder; that he had declined it, because, though Bothwell alleged the consent of the queen, he could produce no written proof of that consent; but that he was guilty of having concealed, through fear, his knowledge of the conspiracy, and of having given to Bothwell, first the bond of manrent, and afterwards another bond to promote his marriage with the queen\*. On the scaffold he threw himself on his face, and, by sobs and groans and violent contortions of the body, manifested the agitation and anguish of his mind. What impression the sight made on the spectators, we know not; but the ministers who attended him assure us, that these things "were evident signs of the "inward and mighty working of the spirit of God†."

nothing more than a memorandum made by some nameless person, at least five years after the death of Bothwell, of what had been reported by a Danish merchant soon after his death. Keith, App. 142—145. Camden asserts that the earl often, both during his life and at his death, declared upon oath the innocence of Mary: "et vivens et moriens reginam minime "consciam fuisse, religiosa asseveratione sæpenumero contestatus est," Camd. 143. But Laing is positive that king James inserted this passage, and that it was not originally written by Camden. Laing, ii. 52. His assertion is merely conjecture; but, if the fact were so, might not James have learned it during his residence in Denmark?

\* It is singular, that after all the investigations and executions which had taken place, it was still, fourteen years after the death of Darnley, a question in what manner he was murdered. Morton was asked "whither "the king was whirled or blawin in the aire?" He called God to witness that he did not know. Bannatyne, 498.

† "He lay on griefe upon his face befor the place of executione, his "bodie making grit rebounding with sychis and sobbes, quhilk are evident "signes of the inward and myghtie working of the speirt of God." See the whole confession, and the sequel, in Bannatyne's journal, 494—517. It has been contended, that in this confession, published by the ministers, much was omitted out of tenderness to characters then living, or for political purposes. Mary, indeed, in a letter to Elizabeth, roundly asserts that, from the deposition of Morton, and from the depositions of those confronted with him, it was plain that all her misfortunes, during her resi-

Binning suffered the next day; Archibald Douglas, whom Morton had appointed a lord of session, found an asylum in England.

Ever since the arrival of Lennox Elizabeth had watched with additional jealousy the conduct of the Scottish queen: after the fall of Morton she thought it necessary to come to a final determination respecting the fate of her captive. Was Mary, as had been formerly devised, to be prosecuted and attainted for practices against the life and dignity of the English queen; or was she to be liberated from prison on conditions calculated to secure Elizabeth from the dangers which she feared? The lords of the council assembled; and three Sept days were spent in deliberation. But, whatever had been the previous wish of the queen, she soon began to waver; she made objections to every proposal; and at last had recourse to the expedient, so familiar to weak minds, of freeing herself from present perplexity by postponing her resolution to a later period. When that period arrived, the same indecision prevailed: Mary was harassed with additional questions and fresh demands. The partisans of Elizabeth again acquired the ascendancy in Scotland; and new events furnished new reasons for perpetuating the captivity of the Scottish queen.

To the catholics of England the late revolution in Scotland had opened a cheering though fallacious prospect. Groaning under the pressure of penal statutes, and despairing of relief from the reigning sovereign, they naturally looked forward to the prince, who, in all probability would, within the space of a few years, succeed to the English throne. By the known hostility of

dence in Scotland, were caused by the suggestions and promises of the agents of the English queen: "à dire, faire, entreprendre, et exécuter ce "que durant mes troubles est advenu audit pays." Jebb, ii. 266. Camden, 387. Camden also informs us that, according to Morton's real confession, he refused to act in the murder without a note from the queen; and Bothwell replied that such a note could not be procured, because the murder must be perpetrated without her knowledge. Camden, 143.

Morton, they had been hitherto deterred from presenting themselves to the notice of the Scottish king: the opposite policy of D'Aubigny encouraged them to assure him of their attachment to the claim of the house of Stuart; to solicit his protection in favour of their brethren, whom persecution might occasionally drive into Scotland; and to express a hope that, when providence should place the sceptre in his hands, he would extend the benefit of religious toleration to the best friends of his mother and of himself. Persons, the jesuit, carried his views much further. He argued that, though the prince had been educated by the disciples of Knox, his conversion to the worship of his fathers was not improbable. He was only in his fifteenth year. Who could presume to foresee what impression might hereafter be made on his mind by gratitude and interest, by affection for his mother, and by his own reading and reflection? With these hopes he despatched, first, Waytes, an English clergyman, afterwards Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, to the court at Holyrood house. They were received with kindness by the king, the duke of Lennox, the earls of Huntley, Eglinton, and Caithness, and by the barons Seton, Ogilby, Gray, and Fernihurst; and both returned to Persons with flattering, though perhaps insincere, promises of the royal favour. James was willing to connive at the silent introduction of the catholic missionaries, to receive one into his court as his tutor in the Italian language, and to take under his protection such religious refugees as should bring with them a recommendation from his mother. He also talked of the filial affection which he felt towards that unfortunate princess, of his sense of the many wrongs which she had suffered, and of his readiness to co-operate in any plan for her deliverance from captivity; but unfortunately (so he pretended) his enemies had deprived him of the means: he was a king without a revenue; and poverty would, at last, compel him, unless he were relieved by

the bounty of the catholic princes, to submit to the pleasure of Elizabeth.

With this answer Persons and Creighton hastened to 1582 Paris, where they met the duke of Guise, Castelli the May papal nuncio, Tassis the Spanish ambassador, Beaton the archbishop of Glasgow and Mary's resident in the French court, Matthieu the provincial of the French jesuits, and Dr. Allen the president of the seminary at Rheims. After a long and secret consultation, the general opinion was, that Mary and James ought to be associated on the Scottish throne, as joint king and queen; that, to consolidate their interests, an agreement between them, consisting of several articles\*, should be signed; and that the pope and the king of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. It is probable that other projects with which we are unacquainted, were also formed. Whatever they were, they afterwards obtained the assent of the Scottish cabinet; Persons hast- June ened to Valladolid, where he obtained from Philip a 18. present of 12,000 crowns for James; and Creighton to Rome, where the pope promised to pay the expenses of his body-guard for twelve months, amounting to one-third of the former sum: †.

When this plan of association was communicated to Mary, she not only gave her own consent, but earnestly solicited that of her son. It was her wish, she said, to give him, according to law, what he now held only by force; to make him of an usurper, as he now was, a legitimate king in the estimation of other sovereigns. By

\* The purport of the articles was to relieve all Scotsmen from any fear of punishment for past offences, and to secure to them their present rights and possessions—"d'asseurer les rebelles de toute impunité de leurs offenses du passé, et de remettre toutes choses en repos pour l'advenir sans aucune innovation de chose quelconque." Lettre de Marie, Jebb, ii. 274.

† See the letters of Persons in More, 113. 121, Bartoli, 242. 244, and the supplication of the Scottish malcontents in Melville, 130.

Lennox and Arran the measure was approved; but, if the former supported it with all his influence, the latter secretly opposed every obstacle in his power. At the first proposal James was alarmed; but when he was assured that Mary would leave to him the sole exercise of the sovereign authority within the realm, he signified his assent. The captive queen fondly attributed it to the affection of the son for his mother; the result showed that it had been drawn from him by considerations of personal interest\*.

Neither the visits of Waytes and Creighton to Edinburgh, nor the consultation in Paris, had escaped the prying curiosity of the English agents; and all the projects of Persons were extinguished in their very birth by the promptitude and policy of Elizabeth's cabinet. Under its auspices a new revolution was organized in Scotland†. The earl of Gowrie invited James to his castle of Ruthven, secured the person of the unsuspecting prince, and assumed with his associates the exercise of the royal authority. Of the former ministers, the earl of Arran was thrown into prison, and the duke of Lennox sought an asylum in France, where he died of poison or of a broken heart‡. The Scottish lords of the English faction ruled again without control; and the preachers from the pulpit pointed the resentment of their hearers against the men who had sought to restore an idolatrous worship and to replace an adulteress and assassin on the throne.

\* Cotton MSS. Cal. B. iv. 35.

† In proof of it, Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, appeals to the charges "données à vos derniers deputez envoyez en Escosse, et ce que lesdits deputez y ont seditieusement practiqué avec bonne et suffisante sollicitation "du comte mon bon voisin à York." (Huntingdon.) Jebb. ii. 270. See also Ellis, 2 ser. iii. 97.

‡ He was said, probably on very slight grounds, to have been poisoned in his passage through England. See a letter from Mary in Jebb, ii. 537. Mary's agent in Scotland asserts that the real cause of his exile was his approval of the plan of association: "il ne fust jamais chassé "pour aultre occasion, que d'avoir pourchassé la dite association." *Murdin*, 549.

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement, that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made, it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son; and from the bed, to Nov. which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth 8. a long but most eloquent and affecting remonstrance. Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered from her English sister while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son\*. But what injury had she offered to Elizabeth to justify such conduct? Let the charge be made, and if she did not refute it she was willing to suffer the

\* In this letter Mary mentions several facts of great historical importance. She states,—1. That during her imprisonment at Lochlevin she received more than one letter from the English queen, inviting her to flee to England for protection, and promising to meet her with an English army at the borders. One of these letters was accompanied with a diamond ring, to be kept by her as a token or pledge of Elizabeth's sincerity. Mary contrived to escape, and from the field of Langside, aware of the uncertainty of an appeal to arms, she sent back to the queen, by a special messenger, this very ring, to remind her of her promise. These facts fully explain why she afterwards, in opposition to the advice of her best friends, determined to pass the Solway Frith, and land in England. She states,—2. That if she consented to marry the duke of Norfolk, it was at the suggestion of the councillors the most trusted by Elizabeth, and that their signatures to the suggestion are still in existence, to be exhibited when called for. 3. That by the inquiry which the presumption of her enemies had provoked during the conferences at Westminster, the falsehood and forgery of the documents circulated against her had been completely exposed. *La vérité estant apparue des impostures qu'on semoit de moi* (*Lettres*, v. 323) evidently means that the truth of her plea, that they were impostures or forgeries, was too manifest to be denied. 4. That the late revolution in Scotland, by which her son was made a prisoner in the hands of Gowrie, had been brought about by the intrigues of Elizabeth's agents, and by the distribution of Elizabeth's gold. If we recollect that Mary's object was to propitiate the English queen, we must conclude that she would not have presumed to make such statements unless she had known that Elizabeth was conscious of their truth; and, if that was the case, we may discover in such consciousness the real reason why, during so many years, Mary could never obtain a personal interview with the English queen.



punishment. She knew her real and her only crime. It was that she was the nearest relation, the next heir, to the queen. But her enemies had little reason to be alarmed. They had brought her to the brink of the grave, and she thought little now of any other kingdom than the kingdom of God. In this situation, therefore, she recommended the interests of her son to the protection of her good sister, and earnestly begged for her own liberation, from prison. But, if she must remain a captive, she trusted that at least the queen would grant her a catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness\*. Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth we know not; it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.

For some time the queen and Henry of France had stood in mutual awe of each other. *She* feared that he might be provoked to espouse the cause of Mary; *he* that at the first offence she would lend her powerful aid to the French huguenots. On this account, as long as James suffered himself to be guided by the duke of Lennox, Henry appeared indifferent to the affairs of Scotland; but now that the Scottish king was in the hands of the English faction, La Motte Fenelon and Maigneville were despatched to Edinburgh, that they might aid the young prince to regain his liberty, advise him to call around him the other noblemen and the deputies of the burghs, and suggest the necessity of effecting, as quickly as possible, the association of his mother with himself on the throne. At the same time,  
 1583, Jan. Bowes and Davidson, the English, were instructed  
 18. to oppose the French agents, to urge their immedi-

\* This letter is abridged by Camden (p. 387), but published entire by Jebb, ii. 266, and more correctly by prince Labanoff, v. 318.

ate dismissal, and to represent to the king the danger of the measures which they recommended\*. James acted with a dissimulation and vigour not to be expected from his years. Having summoned a convention of noblemen at St. Andrews, he took possession of the castle; the number of his adherents intimidated the opposite faction; an offer of pardon to all who had been concerned "in the raid of Ruthven" allayed their apprehensions; and the young king recovered with ease the exercise of the royal authority. Elizabeth by letter condemned, James defended or excused, his conduct, and, during the controversy, to the surprise of all men, Walsingham himself made his appearance at the Scottish court. There seemed no sufficient object to draw that aged statesman from his official situation, and to engage him in so long and laborious a journey. He read, however, to the Scottish king several lectures on the art of government; extolled clemency as more useful than rigour; and exhorted James to banish "the enemies of the religion" from his councils and his society. But the chief occupation of the ambassador was to study the numbers and resources of the two parties; to spread distrust and dissension in the one, while he united and strengthened the other; to distribute with discretion the moneys which he had brought with him from England, and to secure partisans with pensions and promises. James had received him coldly, and listened to him with reserve; a paltry present at his departure proved how little the king valued his advice; and Elizabeth complained to Mary of the disrespect shown to her ambassador, which she resented as shown to her-

\* See the instructions in Murdin, 374. Camden, 395. At Leith they procured the arrest of Holt, a Jesuit, on his way to Rome with despatches from lord Seton, but do not appear to have drawn any important disclosure from him. Wright, ii. 189.

self\* Bowes had, at the same time, been engaged in an intrigue, the failure of which proved an equal disappointment to the English queen. She had long sought to obtain possession of the casket containing the supposed letters and sonnets of Mary Stuart to Bothwell; but, though her expectation of success had been often raised to the highest point, she had as often been deceived by the backslidings of men unable or unwilling to comply with their engagements. About the end of 1582 Bowes was ordered to renew the attempt, under instructions from that master of intrigue, the English secretary. Bowes discovered that the casket was in the hands of Gowrie; he employed "fit instruments,"—who or what they were is not mentioned,—but at last confessed that it was not in his power "to win the same out of Gowrie's hands, "without his own consent or privity." He was obliged to break the matter to the earl openly. They held three conferences together; but no argument, nor promise, nor even the loan of a large sum of money, could subdue the stubbornness of the Scotsman, who declared that documents so necessary for the defence of his party against the charge of having dethroned their sovereign should never, with his consent, be taken out of the kingdom. Mary at the same time demanded of her son that the same documents, being forgeries, should be either destroyed or delivered up to her†.

This new revolution in Scotland revived the hopes of the royal captive, and of her adherents in France. The duke of Guise, Castelli, the archbishop of Glasgow, Matthieu, and Morgan, held another meeting at Paris. The object of their present consultation was to devise a plan for the liberation of Mary; and it was proposed that the duke should land with an army in the south of

\* Camden, 396, 397. Melville, 135. Sadler, ii. 374. Jebb, ii. 535, 536.

† See the Bowes correspondence published by the Surtee's society, p. 236. 240. 253. 264.

England; that James with a Scottish force should enter the northern counties; and that the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. This project was communicated to Mary through the French ambassador, to James through Holt, the English jesuit, confined in the castle of Edinburgh\*. The king immediately expressed his assent: but his mother, aware that her keepers had orders to deprive her of life if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negotiation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her design of transferring all her rights to her son; threw the blame of his late behaviour to Walsingham on the ministers, who abused his good nature and inexperience; repeated the offers which she had made the year before; and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns, to be concluded in Scotland, through the mediation of Castelnau the French ambassador. Elizabeth seemed to acquiesce; the English ministers submitted to the pleasure of their sovereign; and Castelnau predicted a favourable result. But it was the misfortune of Mary to depend on men who were swayed by no other consideration than personal interest. Though Henry had authorized the ambassador to undertake the commission, though he furnished him with instructions such as the Scottish queen had solicited, yet he privately admonished him to obstruct any treaty which, by freeing Elizabeth from apprehension on the part of Scotland, might place her at liberty to support the protestants of France†. Castelnau deemed it prudent to relax his exertions; the Scots of the English faction argued the point with the queen; reports were

\* See Murdin, 496. With all the persons at this consultation the reader is acquainted, except Morgan. He was a gentleman of Wales, formerly secretary to Mary, and now administrator, with Charles Paget, brother to lord Paget, of her dower in France. The archbishop of Glasgow distrusted or disliked them both. From the former consultation they had been excluded. How Morgan came to be admitted to this, I know not.

† See his letter in Jebb, ii. 543.

circulated of the projected invasion ; and Elizabeth was taught to believe that the discharge of the captive must prove injurious to her honour and interests : to her honour, because her Scottish friends would infallibly be sacrificed to the resentment of Mary ; to her interests, because the mother and son would probably devote themselves to the cause of Spain, the former by a marriage with Philip, the latter by a marriage with the daughter of that monarch. Elizabeth, with her characteristic inconstancy, changed her resolution, and the cup of promise was again, for the twentieth time, dashed from the lips of Mary Stuart\*.

But the English queen herself experienced at this period considerable disquietude, from her knowledge of the design of the duke of Guise, combined with her ignorance of his associates and resources. She not only suspected the captive at Sheffield ; she dreaded the disaffection of her subjects of the catholic communion. During the last two years the laws against them had been enforced with unexampled severity. The scaffolds were repeatedly drenched with the blood of priests executed as traitors ; and in several counties the prisons were crowded with recusants of ancient and noble families. In the event of invasion could she rely on the loyalty of men suffering under such oppression ? Would they not imitate the protestants of Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, who had risen in arms against their catholic sovereigns ? To discover the extent of the danger, and to guard against the designs of the disaffected, her chief dependence was on the industry and ingenuity of Walsingham, who, nurtured in intrigue himself, was the better qualified to detect and unravel the intrigues of others. Secret agents in his pay were spread over the continent. They resided in the most frequented ports, insinuated themselves into the councils of princes, and even studied as ecclesiastics in the

\* Jebb, ii. 532, 545.

English seminaries. Other spies at home, prompted by the prospect of reward, haunted the houses of the principal catholics. They represented themselves as confidential agents of Mary or of her partisans, delivered counterfeit letters that they might receive answers, and sought, by every artifice, to discover the secret dispositions of men, or to allure them to the commission of crime. It became, according to the testimony of Camden, difficult for the most loyal and the most cautious to elude the snares which were laid for their destruction\*. The first victim was Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, whose misfortune it was to have incurred the enmity of Leicester, by refusing to sell a portion of his estate for the accommodation of that powerful favourite. In the progress of the quarrel he had the imprudence to brave the resentment of his antagonist: he rejected the earl's livery, which was worn by the neighbouring gentlemen; he opposed him in all his pursuits in the county, and was accustomed to speak of him with contempt as an upstart, an adulterer, and a tyrant. Arden's daughter had married Somerville, a neighbouring catholic, subject to fits of insanity. In one of these he attacked, with a drawn sword, two men on the highway; and, at the same time, declared, so it was reported, that he would murder every protestant, and the queen as their head. Somerville was soon lodged in the Tower; and in a few days was followed by Oct. his father and mother-in-law, his wife, his sister, and 30. Hall, a missionary priest. Arden and Hall were put to Nov the torture: the former persisted in maintaining his innocence; from the latter was drawn a confession that Arden had, in his hearing, wished the queen were in heaven. On this slender proof, conjoined with the previous conduct of Somerville, that gentleman, Hall, Arden, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy to kill the queen. Somerville, on pretence of insanity, was

\* Camden, 411.

Dec. removed to Newgate, and found, within two hours,  
 19 strangled in his cell; Arden, the next day, suffered the punishment of a traitor. The justice of his execution was generally questioned; and the pardon granted to the others strengthened the belief that his blood was to be charged not to his guilt, but to the vengeance of Leicester, who gave the lands of his victim to one of his own dependents\*.

About the same time, if the information received by Walsingham were correct, Charles Paget, an exile, and brother to the lord Paget, ventured to land on the coast of Sussex, under the assumed name of Mope. Soon afterwards a letter, written by Morgan, fell into the hands of the secretary. Francis and George, sons of  
 Nov. 17. sir John Throckmorton, whom the hostility of Leicester had, on some trifling pretext, removed from his office of chief justice of Chester, were immediately apprehended and sent to the Tower: the lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled beyond the sea†; and the earl of Northumberland with his son, and the earl of Arundel with  
 1584. his countess, uncle, and brother, were summoned and Jan. repeatedly examined before the council. These, if they  
 1. did not convince, at least silenced, their adversaries. Paget and Arundel protested that they had fled, not through consciousness of guilt, but to elude the snares laid for them by the cunning and malice of Leicester‡. Even the two Throckmortons persisted in the most solemn asseverations of their innocence. In the meanwhile Stafford, the ambassador in France, had laboured, but in vain, to discover some trace of the projected invasion. Not a single soldier was levied; no preparation

\* Camden, 405. Bridgewater, 317. Rishton's Diarium. Dugdale's Warwickshire, 681. About the same time, Jan. 11th, was executed Carter, a printer. He was charged with having printed a treatise on seism, in which the maids of honour were exhorted to kill the queen, as Judith had killed Holofernes. (Camden, 411.) I shall transcribe the passage in note (G), at the end of the volume.

† Arundel had lent money to the queen of Scots. Mardin, 438.

‡ Camden, 411. Hardwicke Papers, i. 213.

whatever had been made\*. But, if his report contributed to lull, an intercepted, and in all probability forged, letter from the Scottish court to Mary awakened the apprehensions of Elizabeth. The writer informed the royal captive that James approved the plan of the duke of Guise, was resolved to expose his own person in the attempt, had received a promise of 20,000 crowns to raise an army, and was desirous of knowing on what English noblemen and gentlemen he might rely for assistance†. It was probably owing to this letter that Francis Throckmorton was brought to trial. He had thrice suffered the rack without making any disclosure; when he was again led to that engine of torture he confessed that two catalogues, said to have been found in one of his trunks, had been written by him; that one contained the names of the chief ports, the other of the principal catholics, in England; that they were intended for the use of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to further the enterprise of the duke of Guise; and that he had devised a plan with that minister to enable the catholics, at the moment of invasion, to levy troops in the name of the queen, then to declare against her, and, unless she would consent to tolerate the catholic worship, to attempt the subversion of the government‡. With this confession in his hand, Burghley accused the Spaniard of having violated his duty and practised against the state. Mendoza replied, with warmth, that the charge was false and calumnious; that he was the person who had to complain of insidious and traitorous policy; and that Burghley had intercepted the treasure, aided the rebels, and, by the means of pirates, plundered

April  
4.

\* Hardwicke Papers, i. 197. Murdin, 389. 397. It is plain, from the letters of Henry III. to his ambassador in England, that he was resolved to preserve peace with Elizabeth; but to her demand that he should deliver to her the Pagets, Arundel, Morgan, &c., he replied that they were exiles on account of religion, and that she had never given up to him the rebels who sought protection from her; but that, if any Englishmen in France could be proved to have conspired against her, he would punish them to her satisfaction. Egerton, 25, 26.

† See it in Sadler's Papers, ii. 375.

‡ Somers' Tracts, i. p. 214.



the subjects of his sovereign. The two ministers parted in anger; and the Spaniard, spontaneously, or by force, leaving the court, retired to Paris, where, for many years, he gratified his resentment, by lending the aid of his influence and abilities to those who sought the ruin of Elizabeth\*.

Throckmorton, on his trial, pleaded that his confession was insufficient to convict him, because, by the 13th of the queen, it was required that the indictment should be laid within six months after the commission of the offence, and should also be proved by the oaths of two witnesses. The judges replied that he was indicted, not on the 13th of the queen, but on the ancient statute of treasons, which neither required witnesses, nor limited the time of prosecution. Surprised at this answer, he exclaimed that he had been deceived; that the whole of his confession was false; that it had been subscribed by him to escape the torment of the rack, and under the impression that it could not affect his life. After condemnation his life was spared, till he once more confessed his guilt; then he was led to execution: but on June 10. the scaffold he again revoked his confession, calling God to witness, that, as it had been extorted from him, in the first instance, by the fear of torture, so it had been drawn from him in the second by the hope of pardon. The government thought proper to publish a tract in justification of his punishment. The proofs which it furnishes might then be deemed sufficient; in the present day they would be rejected with contempt from any court of justice†.

While the ministers thus punished a doubtful con-

\* Consult Elizabeth's declaration in Strype, iii. 153. App. 43. Among other things, Mendoza charged a certain counsellor (Leicester) with having engaged the brother of a certain earl (Sussex) in a plot to murder don John of Austria. Ibid.

† Camden, 413. Throckmorton was racked for the first time on the 23rd of Nov., and then twice on 2nd of Dec. Several other catholic gentlemen, Shelley, Pierpoint, Brummelholme, Layton, &c., were, at this time, thrown into the Tower, probably on similar charges or suspicions. See Rishton's Diary at the end of Sanders.

spiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad. Alarmed at the connexion of James with the duke of Guise, at his professions of attachment to his mother, and at his marked disregard of the admonitions of Elizabeth, they earnestly sought to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland. The intrigues of Walsingham were supported by the gold of the queen\*; the preachers appealed from their pulpits to the piety or the fanaticism of their hearers; and the chiefs began to arm their retainers; when the king, who felt his throne tremble under him, commanded, by proclamation, all persons concerned in the "raid of Ruthven," to quit the realm. Gowrie promised obedience, but loitered, under different pretexts, in the town of Dundee: his accomplices, the earls of Angus and Marr, appeared at the head of a body of insurgents. *He*, after a stubborn conflict, was made prisoner: *they*, though they had surprised the town and the castle of Stirling, abandoned both at the approach of the royal army. Elizabeth had resolved to aid her friends with an English force: but its advance was retarded by a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador; and the design was laid aside at the arrival of intelligence that Gowrie had been executed as a traitor, and that his associates had sought an asylum in England. While Walsingham secretly provided for their support, the queen interceded in their favour: but James, under the direction of Arran, a bold, though rapacious minister, rejected her prayer; and the Scottish parliament, having pronounced them rebels, confiscated their property†.

The cause of Mary had never worn so favourable an appearance as it did at the present moment. The English faction in Scotland was extinct: her son was

\* "Ses mauvaises subjects paissent par la bonne royne d'Angleterre  
"cherchent de jour en aultre l'occasion d'avoir sa personne entre leurs  
"traiteuses mains." Intercepted letter to Mary, in Sadler, ii. 375.

† Jebb, ii. 548. 553. Sadler ii. 395. 399. 405. Camden, 405.

believed to be at her devotion ; Elizabeth, anxious to be freed from apprehension, earnestly sought an agreement ; and even Walsingham, now that his other plans had failed, expressed his approbation of the terms offered by the queen of Scots \*. James had named the master of Marr, one of his favourites, to proceed to the English court ; and permission had been obtained that Nau, the French secretary of Mary, should meet him as her agent. Little doubt was entertained that these ministers, through the mediation of the French ambassador, would successfully conclude the treaty so often begun and so often interrupted. But there always happened something to disappoint the expectations of the unfortunate queen. Creighton, the Scottish jesuit, and Abdy, a Scottish priest, both on their way to their native country, Sept. had been captured by a Dutch cruiser ; and, though 16. Scotland was not at war with any other power, were conducted as prisoners to England. In the Tower, and in presence of the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion which had so long alarmed Elizabeth †. The enemies of Mary improved the opportunity to agitate her mind with new and unfounded apprehensions ; and a plan of association was composed, the subscribers of which bound themselves to pursue, unto death, not only every person who should attempt, but also every person in favour of whom any other should attempt, the life of the queen. The latter clause was evidently directed against Mary Stuart ; and, while it affected to make the life of one queen security for that of the other, placed the former without resource

\* " Wherwith I see no cawse but that her majestie shood rest satysfied." Sadler, ii. 420.

† Creighton had torn his papers, and thrown them into the sea, but the fragments were collected, and among them a paper, written in Italian about two years before, showing how England might be successfully invaded. Sadler, ii. 401. (I suspect a paper in Strype is a translation of it. Strype, iii. 414.) In his confession he detailed all the particulars of the consultation at Paris ; but added, that the invasion was postponed till the troubles in the Low Countries should be ended. Sadler, *ibid.* This conduct of Creighton furnished Morgan with a specious ground of complaint against Persons and his friends Murdin, 496.

at the mercy of her enemies; who might, at any moment, plead a pretended plot in justification of her murder. When the bond of association was read to her, she heard it as her death-warrant: but, recovering herself, she offered to add her signature to the list of subscribers, as far as it were applicable to herself. This offer was not accepted: but copies were dispersed through the kingdom, and were signed by every man who had anything to fear from the displeasure, or anything to hope from the favour, of his sovereign\*.

Oct.  
31

It was owing, perhaps, to the peculiar circumstances in which the king of Scotland had been placed from his infancy, or to the education which he had received from his tutors, that he felt none of those generous sentiments which usually glow with so much ardour in the bosom of youth. At the early age of sixteen he was become a perfect master in the art of dissimulation, and knew no other motives of conduct but personal gratification and personal interest. He had long negotiated with his mother, his cousin of Guise, the king of Spain, and the pontiff. To all these he professed a strong partiality for the catholic worship; a desire to be lawfully associated on the throne with his mother; and a resolution to risk his life in order to procure her liberty. By these protestations he obtained the only thing he sought, repeated presents in money: but his sincerity at last was doubted; their liberality became checked, and he determined to play a similar game with the English queen. Gray, master of Marr, his new ambassador, was ordered not to join the secretary of Mary, but to negotiate apart. Gray professed the catholic creed, and always held himself out as the devoted servant of Mary. He had been sent to Paris with a recommendation to her friends from Holt, and had there been admitted into the confidence of Persons and the archbishop of Glasgow, from whom he learned all their intrigues and plans for

\* Sadler, ii. 430, 431. Camden, 413.

the liberation of the Scottish queen. On his introduction to the English court, he was received coldly by Elizabeth, and still more coldly by her ministers. But his conduct soon removed their prejudices against him. He assisted at the established service; he quarrelled with Nau; he betrayed to Elizabeth the secrets which had been intrusted to his fidelity at Paris. When by these arts he had gained the royal favour, he suggested, as the means of "knitting a closer amity," a marriage between the English queen and his sovereign, and demanded for the latter an annual pension, with a declaration that he was the second person in the realm. He could not expect to succeed in all these proposals: but he obtained his principal object, a supply of money, with a promise of more, in proportion to the subsequent services of James\*.

But though Elizabeth could find money to purchase the friendship of the king, and the services of his favourite, her exchequer was said to be empty; and want, or the apprehension of want, compelled her to make an appeal to the benevolence of her subjects. A new parliament (the last by successive prorogations, had continued during the space of eleven years) was summoned to meet in the autumn. The more important transactions of the session may be arranged under four distinct heads. 1°. A liberal aid was granted of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy, to be paid in three years, and of one subsidy and two fifteenths by the temporalty. 2°. For the greater safety of the queen, it was proposed that, in case of invasion, or any attempt to injure the royal person, the individual by whom or *for* whom the attempt was made, should forfeit all right to the succession, and should be pursued to death by all the queen's subjects. This bill was plainly the counterpart of the association, and liable to the same

Nov.  
23.

\* Fontenay's account to Mary, in Murdin, 548. 557. Though classed by the editor among the documents of 1586, it belongs to the year 1584. See also Sadler, ii. 420. 460. Camden, 421. See note (1) at the end.

objections. Why should Mary, a captive in close confinement, be made to answer, with the loss of her rights and of her life, for the conduct of men whom she had not the power to control, and of whose designs she might probably be ignorant? Elizabeth felt the injustice of the measure; and a royal message was received, suggesting several important amendments. By the act, as it ultimately stood, the associators were restrained from pursuing to the death any person who had not previously been pronounced, by a court of twenty-four commissioners, privy to the treason; Mary and her issue were rendered incapable of the succession, only in the case of the queen suffering a violent death; and the words of the association already subscribed were ordered to be explained according to the provisions of the present statute\*. 3°. The puritan members among the commons, though less bold than their predecessors, did not remain silent. Since the last session the deprivations of non-conforming ministers had been multiplied under the direction of archbishop Whitgift; the queen had appointed a new ecclesiastical commission with additional and more formidable powers; and the sufferers ceased not to harass both the parliament and convocation with long and eloquent petitions for redress. Motions on religious subjects occupied much of the time of the lower house; and bills were introduced to enforce the observance of the sabbath, to repress idleness, incontinence, and adultery, to abolish the administration of the oath *ex officio*, to regulate proceedings in the bishops' courts, to do away plurality of benefices, and to reform the discipline and morals of the clergy. But the queen still considered every attempt to legislate on ecclesiastical matters as an invasion of her prerogative. By the influence of the court, most of these bills were rejected on the first reading; and of those which passed the commons, some were thrown out by

\* Stat. of Realm, iv. 703.

the lords; and the others, though they struggled through the house in defiance of the ministers, did not, in any one instance, obtain the royal assent. 4°. The catholics, though hardly a month had been suffered to pass in which the scaffolds did not stream with their blood\*, were doomed to suffer additional severities. The conspiracies, whether real or pretended, of Arden and Throckmorton, had thrown the nation into a ferment; both the zealots and the alarmists called for measures of precaution and vengeance; and their wishes were amply gratified by a statute, which enacted that, if any clergyman born in the queen's dominions, and ordained by authority of the bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason; that all persons aiding or receiving him should be liable to the penalties of felony; that whosoever knew of his being in the kingdom, and did not discover him within twelve days, should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; that all students in the catholic seminaries, who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect, should be punished as traitors; that persons supplying them with money in any manner should incur a premunire; that parents sending their children abroad without license should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that children so sent to seminaries should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents†.

On the third reading of this bill, Dr. Parry, a Welsh-Dec. man and a civilian, rose in his place, and described it 17. "as a measure savouring of treasons, full of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects, and pregnant with fines and forfeitures, which would go to enrich, not the queen, but private individuals." The boldness of this speech, at a time when no other member

\* During the three last years five and twenty had suffered. Challoner, 69. 163.

† Camden, 432. Stat. of Realm iv. 706.

dared to open his mouth, excited universal astonishment; but the sequel made the conduct of Parry appear still more strange and mysterious. By the house he was given in custody to the serjeant; the next day he obtained his liberty at the command of the queen, who stated that he had explained his motives partly to her satisfaction; and yet, within six weeks afterwards, he was conducted a prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason\*.

Neither the rank nor abilities, the virtues nor vices, of Parry, could entitle him to the notice of posterity; but his real or supposed crime, or rather the use which was made of that crime, has rendered him a distinguished person in the history of this reign. He was a protestant, born in Wales, of an ancient family by his own account, of obscure parentage if we may believe others. From the service of the earl of Pembroke he passed to that of the queen; and by the appointment of lord Burghley had resided several years in different parts of the continent, to collect and transmit secret intelligence for the use of that minister. He returned to England, married a rich widow, spent her fortune; and, to extricate himself from debt, broke into the apartment of his principal creditor, whom he attempted to murder, and wounded desperately in the affray. He was saved from the death which he had merited, probably by the influence of his patron, under whose auspices he resumed his former employment of a spy. From the correspondence between them, it appears that both were equally discontented, he with the smallness of his allowance, Burghley with the unimportance of his discoveries. Stimulated by the complaints of the latter, he sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of the catholic exiles, by pretending to become a convert to their creed; and with that view applied at Lyons to Creighton, with whom the reader is already acquainted. Being

\* D'Ewes's Journal, 3:0.



reconciled by that jesuit, he revealed to him his ardent wish to free the English catholics from the persecution which they suffered; and his readiness to kill the queen with his own hand, if he could only persuade himself that it were lawful before God. Creighton assured him that it was not: Parry began to argue the point; but the Scot was positive, and the next day departed to his usual residence at Chamberry. From Lyons the impostor proceeded to Venice, and addressed himself to Palma, another jesuit, who refused to listen to his proposals, but conducted him to Campeggio, the papal minister. Parry pretended that he had secrets of great importance to communicate at Rome, but previously required from the pontiff a passport in the most ample form. Before it arrived, on the receipt of some intelligence which alarmed him, he fled out of Italy, returned to Paris, and was again "reconciled." Here he revealed his pretended design of killing the queen to Morgan, by whom, if we may believe him, it was approved\*; but, again affecting to feel a scruple of conscience as to the lawfulness of the deed, he was advised to consult Persons and Allen. The first of these he refused to see; and when he was introduced to the latter, he had not the courage to put the question. He made the experiment, however, on Waytes, and some other English priests, who all condemned the design; and, being

1584. foiled in this attempt, procured from Morgan an introduction to the nuncio Raggazzoni, to whom he gave a letter for Cardinal Como, the Roman secretary of state, and from whom he received a promise that the answer should be forwarded to him in England. Parry now returned; made to Elizabeth, in the presence of Burgh-

Jan. 1.

\* Mary Stuart declared that she did not believe Parry's accusation of Morgan. She thought him incapable of such a crime. Jebb, ii. 675. Parry, in his letter to the queen, observes, "that it will not be in his power to fasten this charge upon Morgan: the proof depending upon his yea and my nay, and having no letter or cipher of his to charge him." Strype, iii. App. 103. The ministers printed Parry's letter, but were careful to omit this passage; it was first published by Strype from the original.

ley and Walsingham, a pompous though obscure narrative of his services; maintained that he had been solicited by the pope to murder the queen; and in a few weeks gave to her the answer of the cardinal Como, in testimony of his veracity. This, however, proved to be no more than a civil answer to a general offer of service: neither his letter nor that of the cardinal contained the remotest allusion to the murder\*; and, to his surprise, when he demanded a pension from the queen, he was told that he had done nothing to deserve a reward. His wants increased; he petitioned for the mastership of St. Catherine's hospital, and harassed the council with requests, till necessity compelled him to return to his former habits, and to set on foot a new intrigue†. It was necessary to give this account of Parry, that, from a previous acquaintance with his character, the reader might be better able to judge of the mysterious affair which followed.

1585.  
Sept  
3.

Among the exiles in the pay of the English government, was Edmond Neville, of the family of the earls of Westmoreland, who, as long as Persons resided at Rouen, had been employed to watch the motions of that

\* The letter of the cardinal furnished a pretence for the most violent declamation against the pope, as if he had been acquainted with the design to kill the queen, and had granted a pardon for it beforehand. The fact, however, is, that Parry in his letter never alluded to the design. He merely said that he was returning to England, and hoped to atone for his past misdeeds by his subsequent services to the catholic church. Bartoli, 288. Discovery of Squyer's fiction, p. 4. The answer of the cardinal may be seen in Sadler, ii. 50C. In it the pope exhorts him to persevere in his good intentions, and grants the indulgence which he had asked for, that which was usually granted to persons on their reconciliation.

† This account of Parry is taken from his letters in Strype, ii. 593. 643. iii. 79. 82. 183. 252. 259. Holinshed, 1383. His confession, *ibid.* and State Trials, i. 1095. Bartoli, 286—289; and Camden, 427—430. It is a singular fact that Burghley placed so much confidence in Parry, that when his wife's nephew, Anthony Bacon, began his travels, the lord treasurer wrote to the young man, and advised him to contract and cultivate an intimate acquaintance with Parry, who was then at Paris. Leicester immediately informed the queen that Bacon was the friend of an exile and traitor; but Burghley convinced her that neither the religion nor the loyalty of his nephew would be shaken in the company of Parry. Birch, from the original letters, vol. i. p. 12, 13. As late as October 24th, 1583, we have a letter from Parry to Burghley, giving him a good character of young Wm. Cecil and his tutor. Lansdowne MSS. No. 39—43.

enterprising jesuit. Neville had lately obtained permission to come to England. He claimed the inheritance of the last lord Latymer; but met with a powerful antagonist in the eldest son of lord Burghley, who was in actual possession of the estate. To this man Parry attached himself, and, while he described him to the queen as a dangerous and suspicious character, sought to drive him to despair, by persuading him that Burghley was his mortal enemy. They soon grew intimate; they swore to be secret and true to each other; they talked of different projects, some for the delivery of the queen of Scots, others for the assassination of Elizabeth. It appears to have been a trial of skill between two experienced impostors, which should be able to entangle the other in the toils. Neville succeeded. He denounced

1585. Parry: they were confronted; and the Welshman, after  
Feb. a faint denial, acknowledged that he had solicited Neville to assassinate the queen.

1. In the Tower he made a long confession, and wrote
14. several letters to Elizabeth and her ministers. To an
18. ordinary reader they bear the marks of a distempered mind: though perhaps those to whom they were addressed might, from their knowledge of his previous conduct, explain the contradictions with which they seem to abound. The sum of his confession was, that Morgan had urged him to murder the queen; that cardinal Como, in the name of the pontiff, had approved the project; that the sight of Elizabeth, and the consideration of her virtues, had induced him to repent; but that the perusal of a work by Dr. Allen had revived his traitorous resolution, and led him to propose the design to Neville. At his trial, buoyed up with the hope of
25. pardon, he pleaded guilty: his confession was read; and the chief justice prepared to pass sentence. At that moment, overcome with terror, he exclaimed that he was innocent; that his confession was a tissue of falsehoods extorted from him by threats and promises; that he had never harboured a thought, and that Como

had never given any approbation, of the murder. His petition to withdraw his plea being refused, judgment was pronounced; and the unhappy man exclaimed that, if he perished, his blood would lie heavy on the head of his sovereign.

On the scaffold, which was erected in the palace yard, *Mar.* he renewed the protestation of his innocence. *Topcliffe,* 2. the noted pursuivant, objected the letter of the cardinal. "O, sir," replied Parry, "you clean mistake it. I deny any such matter to be in the letter, and I wish it might be truly examined and considered of." Being told to hasten, he repeated the Lord's prayer in Latin, with some other devotions, the cart was drawn away; and the executioner, catching him at the first swing, instantly cut the rope, and butchered him alive\*.

It is a matter of doubt whether Parry were guilty or not. The queen at first thought that he had mentioned the project to Neville for the sole purpose of sounding Neville's disposition†; she was afterwards induced to believe that he was a dissembler, who sold his services to both parties, and who would, had he not been prevented, have imbrued his hands in her blood. However that may be, no man can deny that, for his former

\* See the authentic account given to Burghley in *Strype*, iii. 251. It adds: "when his heart was taken out he gave a great groan."—It has been supposed that Allen's book, to which he alluded in his confession, "justified and recommended the murder of heretical princes." This is a mistake. Allen wrote no such work. Parry referred to Allen's answer to Burghley, concerning which, see note (F).

† I am inclined to think that Parry acted in this instance with her permission. 1<sup>o</sup>. He had told her that Neville was "a dangerous and suspicious character." 2<sup>o</sup>. On Parry's apprehension she insisted that the first question put to him should be this: Have you not proposed the murder of the queen to "a dangerous and suspicious character in order to try him?" *Camden*, 427. 3<sup>o</sup>. He hinted as much on the scaffold: "this is my last farewell to you all. I die a true servant to queen Elizabeth. For any evil thought that I had to harm her, it never came into my mind. *She knoweth it; and her own conscience can tell her so.* I concealed it (his intrigue with Neville) upon confidence of her majesty, to whom I had before bewrayed what I had been solicited to do." 4<sup>o</sup>. He ends his letter to the queen thus: "remember your unfortunate Parry, *chiefly overthrown by your hand.*" This, however, was suppressed by the ministers in the printed copies. *Strype*, iii. App. 103.

crimes, his complex and suspicious intrigues, and his base attempts to inveigle others into conspiracies that he might have the merit of betraying them, he amply deserved to die, though he might be innocent of the offence for which he suffered.

The conviction of Parry, and still more the supposed approbation of his crime by the pontiff, were thought to justify the severity of the penal laws now in progress through the two houses. The catholics, before their doom was sealed by the royal assent, sought to propitiate the queen by a long and eloquent petition. In it they vindicated their loyalty and their religion from the odious doctrines with which they had been charged. They declared, 1°. That all catholics, both laity and clergy, held her to be their sovereign, as well *de jure* as *de facto*: 2°. That they believed it to be sinful for any person whomsoever to lift up his hand against her, as God's anointed: 3°. That it was not in the power of priest or pope to give licence to any man to do, or attempt to do, that which was sinful: and 4°. That, if such an opinion were held by any one, they renounced him and his opinion as devilish and abominable, heretical and contrary to the catholic faith. Wherefore they prayed that she would not consider them as disloyal subjects, merely because they abstained, through motives of conscience, from the established service; but would have a merciful consideration of their sufferings, and would refuse her assent to the law, which had for its object to banish all catholic priests out of the realm. This petition was communicated to the chief of the catholic clergy and gentry, and was universally approved. When it was asked who would venture to present it to the queen, Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex, took upon himself the risk, and was made to pay the penalty. The council, for his presumption, committed him to prison; where, after a confinement for several years, he died, the victim of his zeal to alleviate the

sufferings of his brethren, and an evidence of the cruel and unprincipalled policy pursued by the government\*.

The queen of Scots had passed the winter in the most cruel disquietude. From the moment that she saw the bond of association, it had been her conviction that she was condemned to death in the secret council of her adversaries. The ratification of that bond by act of parliament, the suspicions thrown out of her being an accomplice in the supposed treasons of Throckmorton and Parry, her removal from Sheffield to the old and ruinous castle of Tutbury, the intention of transferring the care of her person from the earl of Shrewsbury, whose honour had been her protection, to a keeper of inferior rank, sir Amyas Paulet, the dependent of Leicester, contributed to agitate her mind with continual alarms. She was not, however, wanting to herself. By repeated letters, she sought to awaken the pity or affection of Elizabeth; she signed a bond of her own composition, by which she declared that all persons who should attempt the life or dignity of her good sister enemies whom she would pursue unto the death †; she protested that she was completely ignorant of the designs attributed to Throckmorton and Parry; and she defied her enemies to produce any proof which could in the slightest degree affect her innocence ‡.

Jan  
5.

The discovery of Gray's treachery had induced Mary to complain to her son of the conduct of his favourite. James returned a cold and disrespectful answer; reminding her, in the conclusion, that she had no right to interfere with his concerns; that she was only the queen-mother, and as such, though she enjoyed the royal

\* Compare Strype, iii. 293, who supposes that the petition was presented to parliament, with Pattenson, p. 496, 497. When Shelley was brought before the council, he was required to reveal the names of those who concurred with him in the petition. Aware of the object, he gave the names of such only as were known recusants. It was then objected that the petitioners ought to have refuted the arguments of Dr. Allen, in favour of the deposing power; and he was required to sign a paper, declaring that all who held the deposing power were traitors. This he refused. Ibid.

† Murdin, 548.

‡ Jebb, ii. 569. 674

title, possessed no authority within the realm of Scotland\*. This letter opened the eyes of the captive to the hopelessness of her situation. Even the son, on whose affection she rested her fondest hopes, had deceived, had abandoned her. In the anguish of her mind, she formed the resolution of disowning him, if he persisted in his disobedience; of depriving him of every right which he might claim through her; and of transferring all her pretensions to a prince who might be both willing and able to assert them†. But, while she revolved these thoughts in her mind, an accident happened to awaken new alarms. A young man, a catholic recusant, and suspected to be a priest, had been brought a prisoner to Tutbury. He was confined in a room adjoining to her chamber, was carried several times by force, and before her eyes, to the service in the chapel, and, at the end of three weeks, being found dead in his dungeon, was hanged before her window‡. His fate was considered a prelude

Matr.  
24.

April to her own; and, under this impression, she wrote to Elizabeth, begging, as a last favour, her liberty and life. She demanded nothing more: as to the conditions, her good sister might name and she would subscribe them. She had now nothing to preserve for a son who had abandoned her, and was therefore ready to make every sacrifice except that of her religion§. But the English queen, no longer afraid of the interposition of James, neglected the offers and prayers of her captive, and committed the custody of her person to sir Amyas Paulet, the keeper, from whose austerity and fanaticism Mary anticipated nothing but severity, perhaps assassination.

These terrors were not, however, confined to the queen

\* Jebb, 573.

† Ibid.

‡ See her letters in Jebb, ii. 580. 582. And another in Egerton's life of lord Egerton, Paris, 1812, p. 4. "En ceste sinistre oppinion, ne m'a pas peu confirmé l'accident de ce presbystre qui, après avoir esté tant tourmenté, fut trouvé pendu sur la muraille viz à viz devant mes fenestres." The French minister made repeated inquiries, but could get no other answer from the council than that the prisoner through fright had hanged himself with his garters. Egerton, p. 203.

§ Jebb, ii. 582, see note (H).

of Scots; they were common to the whole body of the English catholics, whose lives and fortunes had been placed, by the late enactments, at the mercy of their adversaries, and who believed that one great object of the association was a general massacre of the most distinguished professors of the ancient creed. Some, to save themselves, entered into the household of the earl of Leicester, or of the other favourites of the queen; many, abandoning their families and possessions, retired beyond the seas, and risked their lives in the service of foreign powers. Of the others there were two, the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, whose rank and misfortunes claim more particularly the attention of the reader. 1°. Philip Howard was the eldest son of the last duke of Norfolk, by Mary Fitzallan, daughter to the earl of Arundel. At the age of eighteen he was introduced to Elizabeth, who received him graciously, and lavished on him marks of the royal favour. He soon mixed in all the gaieties, and indulged in all the vices, of a licentious court. His wife\* was forsaken, was even renounced, for some other distinguished female; and the earl, his maternal grandfather, and the lady Lumley, his aunt, to mark their disapprobation of his conduct, bequeathed to others a considerable part of their property. 1579. On the death of the former, he claimed, with the possession of the castle, the title of earl of Arundel; and his right, though he was not yet restored in blood†, was admitted by the council. But afterwards, whether it arose, as he himself conceived, from the misrepresen-

\* She was Anne, daughter to Thomas lord Dacre of the north. They were publicly married, as soon as she had completed her twelfth year, and again privately, as soon as he had completed his fourteenth. There was probably something in these proceedings, on which he founded the pretended nullity of the marriage. To what female at court he attached himself, we know not: but we are told by his biographer, that the queen was surrounded by women of the most dissolute character: and that, for a married man to aspire to the royal favour, it was previously requisite that he should be on evil terms with his wife. See the MS. life of Philip Howard, c. iii. in possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk.

† He took his seat in the house of lords, April 11th, 1580; and the bill restoring him in blood received the royal assent March 18th, 1581. *Lords' Journals*, ii. 13. 54.



tations of the men who feared his resentment for the death of his father, or from the officious imprudence of the friends of Mary Stuart, who held him out as the hereditary head of their party, he rapidly declined in the favour of his sovereign; and it was soon evident that he had become to the royal mind an object of distrust, if not of aversion. In these circumstances, Arundel retired from court to the society of his wife, to whom he endeavoured to atone for his past neglect by his subsequent attachment. But Elizabeth's displeasure pursued him into his retreat. The countess was the first to feel it. She was presented for recusancy, and confined under a royal warrant, for twelve months in the house of Sir Thomas Shirley. No similar annoyance could reach the earl himself, for he was still a protestant: but repeated attempts to connect him with real or pretended conspiracies, particularly with that attributed to Throckmorton, warned him of the impending danger; and he had already come to the determination of seeking an asylum in a foreign land, when he was stopped by a visit from the queen, who, after dinner at her departure, bade him look upon himself as a prisoner in his own house\*.

585. These several affronts sank deep into the breast of Arundel. From the time of Campian's disputation in the Tower, he had been in his own mind a convert to the catholic creed, though his unwillingness to forfeit the royal favour induced him still to conform to the established worship. But now, smarting under oppression, and viewing these wrongs as the judgment of God in punishment of his pusillanimity, he sent privately for a priest, and was "reconciled" to the catholic church, an act which, as he well knew, had been made high treason by a late statute. But his resolution was taken. He

\* About Christmas 1584 the earl gave a sumptuous banquet to the queen, who, on that occasion, speaking of him to Castelnau, "lona fort ledit Comte d'Arundel et son bon naturel." Castelnau to the king, in Egerton, 204.

left London to make preparations for his flight beyond the sea, and wrote from Arundel to the queen a long and eloquent epistle, in which he enumerated the failure of Apr. all his attempts to gain her confidence, the ascendancy <sup>13</sup> of his enemies in her council, the disgrace which he had suffered, the fate of his father and grandfather, who, though innocent, had perished as traitors, and the penalties to which he was exposed on the ground of his religion. He was come, he said, to the point, "in which "he must consent either to the certain destruction of his "body, or the manifest endangering of his soul;" and he therefore trusted that, if, to escape such evils, he should leave the realm without licence, she would not visit him with her displeasure, which he should esteem the bitterest of all his losses, the most severe of all his misfortunes\*. Having intrusted this letter to a messenger, he embarked, little aware that he had been all the while beset with spies and informers, and that his own servants, and the very master of the ship which was to convey him, were in the pay of the ministers. He had hardly lost sight of the coast of Sussex, when two sail were descried in full chase. They were under the command of Kelloway, a pretended pirate. After a short resistance, in which he received a slight wound, Arundel surrendered. He was delivered by Kelloway to sir George Carey, the son of lord Hunsdon, and committed Apr by the council to the Tower. His imprisonment was <sup>24</sup> followed by that of his brother, the lord William Howard, and of his sister, the lady Margaret Sackville †.

On his examination before the commissioners, the innocence of the earl disconcerted the malice of his adver-

\* This letter is in Stowe, 702—706. In one part he insinuates that the persons who enjoy her confidence are atheists at heart. This was often said of Raleigh; but he did not belong to the council. Probably the earl may allude to Leicester and Walsingham. As early as the 16th of April Casteinau had learned that the queen meant to "lay her hand on Arundel's collar." Egert. 202.

† MS. Life. Egerton, 204, 5. Stowe, 706.

saries \*. He remained more than twelve months unnoticed in prison; at length the charge of treason was converted into that of contempt, and he was accused in 1586. the star-chamber of having sought to leave the kingdom May 17. without licence, and of having corresponded with Allen, who had been declared the queen's enemy. He replied that in the first he was justified by necessity, because the laws of the country did not permit him to worship God according to his conscience; and that his correspondence with Allen was not on matters of state, but of religion. Both pleas were overruled; and he was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the queen. She made him feel the weight of her resentment. His confinement was rigorous beyond example; it lasted for life; and his fate was afterwards aggravated by a new trial and condemnation on a charge of high treason †.

The apprehension of the earl of Arundel was followed by the tragic death of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. From the moment that nobleman discovered his attachment to the ancient faith, he had been surrounded with spies; and during the last ten years had been forbidden to depart from the vicinity of the metropolis. The arrest of Throckmorton had caused that of William Shelley, an acquaintance of the earl; and from

\* A letter was produced, purporting to have been written by him to Dix, his steward in Norfolk, in which he was made to say that he should shortly return at the head of a powerful army. He was only allowed to read the two first lines, which were written in a hand not unlike his own. He pronounced it a forgery; and, though it was first shown by Walsingham, there was so much mystery about the manner in which it came into the hands of the secretary, that the majority of the council ordered it to be withdrawn. *Life of Philippe Howard*, c. ix. He maintained that his only object in going abroad was that he might live "*en liberté de conscience*, "*qui luy importoit plus que quarante mille escus de rente, et belles may-sous, et autorité du premier seigneur d'Angleterre.*" *Egerton*, 246.

† He was closely confined during thirteen months, before he could obtain permission that any of his servants might wait on him. *Ibid.* c. x. xi. His countess, after his imprisonment, bore him a son. But she was refused permission to visit him, and was otherwise treated with great cruelty. *Her MS. life*, c. vi.

the confession, voluntary or extorted, of that gentleman, it was inferred that Percy had given his assent to the supposed conspiracy for which Throckmorton suffered\*. He was sent to the Tower: but, though he remained more than a year in close confinement, no preparation was made for his trial. On the 20th of June the lieutenant received an order to remove the earl's keeper, and to substitute in his place one Bailiff, a servant of sir Christopher Hatton; and the same night the prisoner was found dead in his bed, having been shot through the heart with three slugs. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of *felo de se*; and three days later the chancellor, the vice-chamberlain, the lord chief baron, the attorney and solicitor-general, severally harangued the audience in the star-chamber, to prove that the earl had been guilty of treason, and that, conscious of his guilt, he had, to spare himself the ignominy of a public execution, and to preserve the honours and property of his family, committed self-murder†. Yet the change of his keeper, the great difficulty of conveying fire-arms to a prisoner in the Tower, and even the solicitude of the court to convict him of suicide, served to confirm, in the

1585  
June  
20.

\* He was the brother of Thomas the attainted earl. During the rebellion he had levied forces for Elizabeth against his brother; afterwards he offered to assist in a project for the liberation of the queen of Scots. But his services were refused, under the idea that he acted in collusion with Burghley. (Murdin, 21, 119. Anderson, iii. 221.) The ministers, on the one hand, appeared to believe him in earnest (Lodge, ii. 69), condemning him in the star-chamber in a fine of 5000 marks; and on the other to know that he was not, never exacting the fine, but granting him the earldom, which he claimed. *State Trials*, i. 1115, 1127.

† The earl had certainly allowed Charles Paget, one of the exiles, to meet lord Pavet at his house at Petworth, for the purpose, as they pretended, of making a settlement of the family estates. The chief evidence against him was Shelley, who pretended to have heard from Paget that the earl had entered into a conspiracy with him for the invasion of the kingdom. Shelley may have said so: but the fact is denied by Paget in an intercepted letter to the queen of Scots: "That W. Shelley, as they say, should confess that I have revealed some practices I had with the earl to him, herein, as I shall answer at the day of judgment, they say most untruly: for, that I never had talk with the said Shelley, in all my life, but such ordinary talk as the council might have heard, being indifferently." Murdin, 403.

minds of many, a suspicion that his enemies, unable to bring home the charge of treason, had removed him by assassination\*.

\* See the coroner's inquest in Stowe, 706; the government account in Somers' Tracts, iii. 420. Howell's State Trials, 1111. Camden, 434. Bridgewater, 204. To prove the suicide one Mullan was brought forward, who said that he had sold the dag or gun; and another prisoner, Pantiu, who asserted that he saw it delivered into the hands of the earl by a servant called Price. But Price himself, though in custody, was not produced. State Trials, i. 1124. 1125. On the other hand I observe that, in a letter from sir Walter Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil, in Murdin, it is assumed, as a fact known to them both, that the earl was murdered by the contrivance of Hatton. Murdin, 811. The foregoing statement has been severely condemned, as unjust to the memory of Hatton, by sir Harris Nicolas, in his very valuable Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, p. 428—441. I may, however, be allowed to say, that still, in my opinion, the bare facts already mentioned supply strong ground for suspicion that Northumberland was murdered in his cell by his new warder, Balliff; and, if that were so, it will be no easy matter to clear Balliff's master, Hatton, from participation in the crime.

That Hatton was a partaker in it appears to have been assumed as a well-known fact by Raleigh, in his letter to sir Robert Cecil, already mentioned. In 1601, the earl of Essex had been convicted of treason, and received judgment of death; many applications were made to the queen to grant him a pardon; and Raleigh wrote to sir Robert Cecil, her prime minister, not to relent towards the tyrant (Essex) through any apprehension of injurious consequences to himself from the enmity of the relatives and adherents of that nobleman. "For after-revenges," he wrote, "fear them not; for your own father, that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelloway lives, that murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go by all his lifetime."—Murdin, 8. 11. In this passage Raleigh places Hatton, in respect to the death of Northumberland, in the same category with three other persons who had deprived their victims of life, either on the scaffold or by assassination, and yet had never met with retribution from the friends or kindred of the sufferers. It appears to me that his reasoning with Cecil is based on the admission by them both that the violent death of Northumberland was owing to the contrivance of Hatton, as the death of the duke of Norfolk, and of the other victims mentioned by him, had been owing to the contrivance of Lord Burghley and their respective persecutors; and, moreover, that Hatton's conduct on that occasion had been of such a description as to call loudly for vengeance from the house of Percy. "Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue."

It is true that the coroner's jury returned a verdict of *felo de se*; but that verdict appears to me of very little value. It was founded on the testimony of Hopton, the lieutenant of the Tower, that when he came to Northumberland's cell he found the door bolted on the inside, and commanded the warders to break it open. Hence the jury, supposing that no one could have entered the apartment, found that the earl had been guilty of his own death; but it should be remembered that when Hopton reached the door a considerable time had elapsed since the explosion of the day, and more than three hours since the earl had retired to rest. Was it certain that the

door had been bolted, as he found it, during the whole of that time? To this important question Hopton could not speak; but there was one man, and one only, who could make answer to it. Yet this man, Bailiff, the new warder, who had called upon the lieutenant, the moment that he saw him, to demolish the door, was not examined. Again, it might be asked if there was no secret contrivance by which the bolt within could be moved by a person from without. Perhaps Price, the old warder, as well as Bailiff, could have answered this question; but neither Price nor Bailiff was called. It is said, indeed, that they may have been called, though their names are not mentioned; but I will not believe that if they had been examined, and had given favourable evidence, such evidence would have been expunged from the official copy of the proceedings. With respect to the several speeches made for show in the star-chamber, they reveal the deep anxiety of the cabinet to remove from themselves the imputation of having been parties to the foul deed; but it may be fairly doubted whether such proceedings were calculated to produce that effect. It was necessary to assign some reason why Northumberland should take his own life. That was an easy task; but such reasons, after all, were bare conjectures, and not facts. The long and laboured harangues of the attorney and solicitor general presented a variety of statements, frequently very questionable, and generally irrelevant; and the declamation of Hatton was at best only a virulent philippic against the defunct nobleman, representing him as a man of the most treasonable disposition, without character, without gratitude, and without conscience. Surely, with a righteous cause, they might have adopted a line of proceeding less likely to provoke suspicion in the minds of cautious but sincere inquirers. Camden alludes to the report, but does not adopt it, because it was not sufficiently authenticated,—*parum compertum*,—and he had made it a rule to assert nothing upon hearsay. Camden, 455.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Elizabeth consents to protect the Belgian Insurgents—Concludes a Treaty with James of Scotland—Intrigues of Morgan and Paget—Babington's Plot—Detection and Execution of the Conspirators—Proceedings against Mary—Her Trial at Fotheringhay—Judgment against her—Petition of Parliament—Intercession of the Kings of France and Scotland—Her Execution—The Dissimulation of Elizabeth—Who punishes her Counsellors—And appeases the French and Scottish Kings.**

By the death of the duke of Anjou, the right of succession to the crown of France had devolved on Henri de Bourbon, king of Navarre. Thus by a singular coincidence it happened that, in France as well as in England, the presumptive heir was a person professing a religion different from that established by law; nor were the catholics in the one country more willing to see a protestant, than the protestants in the other to see a catholic, sovereign on the throne. There was, however, this difference: in England the right was claimed by a female and a captive, whose life lay at the mercy of her enemies; but in France the heir was a sovereign prince, in possession of liberty, and at the head of a numerous and powerful party. Mary Stuart might at any hour be removed out of the way: to prevent Henry from ascending the throne, battles were to be fought, and a war of extermination to be waged. Their fortunes corresponded with their circumstances. She perished on a scaffold: he, after a long and obstinate struggle, secured the crown on his head, by conforming to the religion professed by the majority of his subjects.

**The man who organized this opposition to the right of**

Henry was the young duke of Guise, a prince who had inherited the talents with the ambition of his family; and whose zeal for religion was animated by the desire of avenging the murder of his father. While Anjou lay on his death-bed, the duke consulted his friends, and resolved to call into action the dormant energies of the league; and the former was no sooner dead, than the emissaries of the latter spread themselves throughout the kingdom, exhorting the people to reform the abuses of the government, to provide for the permanence of their religion, and to learn a useful lesson from the example of a neighbouring realm, where even a woman, in possession of the sovereign authority, had been able to abolish the national worship, and to exclude the catholic nobility from their legitimate influence in the state. Assemblies were held; treaties were signed; and the cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry, was declared first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the throne\*. The king of France, though he deemed the league an act of treason against his authority, found it prudent to place himself at its head; but the leaguers, suspicious of his intentions, compelled him to pursue measures the most hostile to his feelings. The wars and pacifications, the perjuries, murders, and crimes which ensued, are foreign from the subject of this history; but it is necessary to observe that Elizabeth kept her eyes fixed on the struggle between the two parties; that she believed her own interests to be intimately connected with those of the king of Navarre; and that much of her conduct for some years was suggested by a wish to avoid the dangers which she anticipated from the final success of the duke of Guise. To Henry she sent large sums of money, and repeatedly made the offer of an asylum in England whenever he might find himself an unequal match for his enemies. Under her protection he would live in security; and might at some

1585.  
Mar.  
31.

\* See his declaration in the *Mémoires d'Nevers*, i. 641—647.



subsequent period make a more fortunate attempt in support of his claim\*.

Among the princes who had subscribed their names to the league, the most powerful was the king of Spain. But though he promised much, he performed little. His great object was the reduction of the Netherlands. The French expedition under Anjou had formerly disconcerted his plans; he now persuaded himself that, if he could keep alive the flame of civil war in France, nothing could interrupt the victorious career of his general Farnese, the celebrated prince of Parma†. To his surprise a new and most formidable obstacle was opposed from a quarter, whence it was not expected. The states, despairing of aid from France, threw themselves on the pity of England; and the deputies of the revolted provinces, falling on their knees, besought Elizabeth to number the Belgian people among her subjects. Their petition was supported by the leading members of the council, Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham, who maintained that their sovereign owed it to her religion to succour the professors of the reformed faith; and to her people, to disable Philip from invading England, by taking possession of his maritime provinces. But the queen was a firm believer in the divine right of kings: she could not persuade herself that the Spanish monarch had forfeited the sovereignty of the states; nor that subjects had, under any pretext, the right of transferring their allegiance. To accept the offer, she contended, would disgrace her in the eyes of the other sovereigns, and would form a precedent dangerous to herself. To silence these scruples, Leicester had recourse to the authority of the bishops. If the metropolitan declined the task, on the plea that the catholic princes must have as much right to send forces to the aid of the English ca-

June  
29.

\* Strype, iii. 395.

† See in the *Mémoires de Nevers*, the letters from Rome of the duke of Nevers to the cardinal of Bourbon, and to the duke and the cardinal of Guise.

tholics, as Elizabeth could have to support foreign protestants, the earl found a more zealous, or more courtly, casuist in the bishop of Oxford, who pronounced the measure not only lawful in itself, but one which the queen could not in conscience reject \*. While, however, *she* consulted, the prince of Parma improved his former advantages : after an obstinate defence Antwerp capitulated ; and Elizabeth, subdued by the importunities of her favourite, the arguments of her counsellors, and the solicitations of the deputies, consented to sign a treaty with the states, not as their sovereign, but as their ally ; not to withdraw them from their dependence on the Spanish crown, but to recover for them those franchises which they formerly enjoyed. It was stipulated that she should furnish, at her own cost, an auxiliary army of six thousand men ; that her expenses should be repaid within five years after the restoration of peace ; and that she should retain, as securities, the towns of Brille and Flushing, and the strong fort of Rammekins †.

Sept.

In these circumstances it became of the first importance to secure the amity of Scotland. On the fickle and temporizing character of the king little reliance could be placed : he was ready to intrigue with every party, and to profess attachment to every prince who would relieve his necessities with money. But experience had shown that Scotland might be ruled by a faction in defiance of the sovereign ; and most of the royal counsellors had already been bought with the presents and promises of Elizabeth. Even Arran made the tender of his services : but his sincerity was doubted ; and Wotton was despatched as ambassador to watch his conduct, and undermine his influence. The intrigues of Wotton

May  
20.

\* The bishop argued that the queen, according to the Scriptures, was a nursing mother of the Church : now the Church was not confined to England, but embraced all the professors of the gospel ; it was therefore her duty to protect them, even in foreign countries, from the tyranny of idolaters. See Strype's Life of Whitgift, 229, 231, and Records, 97.

† Rymer, xv. 93—98. Camden, 444. 446

were aided by an accidental rencontre on the borders, in which lord Russell, the son of the earl of Bedford, perished. There was nothing to distinguish this from other similar affrays : but the English council pretended that it was the result of a plot to provoke hostilities between the nations ; and required the surrender of its supposed authors, Kerr of Fernihurst, and Arran the protector of Kerr. To elude the demand James placed both under arrest ; and Wotton improved the opportunity of Arran's absence from court to weave a new and more important intrigue. He suggested to the Scottish partisans of Elizabeth a plan to seize the person of the king, and to transport him into England, or confine him in the castle of Stirling. His secret was betrayed ; and  
 Oct. 16. the ambassador, by a precipitate flight, escaped the vengeance of the monarch. The moment he was gone, Arran resumed his seat in the council : but his activity was checked by the secret friends of Wotton ; the exiles, with a supply of English gold, returned across the borders ; their numbers swelled as they approached Stirling ; they were treacherously admitted into the town ; and the king, unable to resist, opened the gates of the castle. He was now at the mercy of the lords, the partisans of England, who regained their estates and honours, and received the government of the several forts as places of security \*. A negotiation was opened with Elizabeth ; and James, having obtained a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to  
 Nov. 3. the succession, consented to a treaty, by which the queen  
 1586, July 5. of England and the king of Scotland bound themselves to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the catholic powers ; and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince. During the negotiation the name of the queen of Scots seems not to have been so much as mentioned †.

\* Camden, 436—440. Melville, 1:7. Spotis, 343.

† Camden, 466—473. Rymer, xv. 503.

With this treaty the queen had sufficient reason to be 1585.  
 satisfied; but that which she had concluded with the  
 states of Belgium proved to her a source of uneasiness  
 and regret. The disgrace of aiding rebels, who pre-  
 tended to depose their lawful sovereign, haunted her  
 mind\*; she was careful to inculcate that she entered  
 into the war not as a principal, but as a friend and ally,  
 with no other view than to preserve entire the rights  
 both of the prince and of the people; and she strictly  
 forbade the earl of Leicester, the commander of her  
 forces, to engage in any enterprise, or to accept of any  
 honour, which could be construed into an admission  
 that Philip had lost the sovereignty of the provinces.  
 But the views of the favourite were very different from  
 those of his mistress. His ambition aspired to the place  
 which had been possessed and forfeited by the duke of  
 Anjou; and, on his arrival in Holland, he asked, and  
 after some demur obtained, from the gratitude of the  
 states, the title of excellency, the office of captain gene-  
 ral of the united provinces, and the whole control of the  
 army, the finances, and the courts of judicature. When  
 the news reached England the queen manifested her  
 vexation by the violence of her language. She charged  
 Leicester with presumption and vanity, with contempt  
 of the royal authority, with having sacrificed the honour  
 of his sovereign to his own ambition; but when she was  
 afterwards told that he had sent for his countess, whom  
 she hated, and was preparing to hold a court, which in  
 splendour should eclipse her own, she burst into a pa-  
 roxysm of rage, swearing "with great oaths, that she  
 "would have no more courts under her obeysance than  
 "one," and that she would let the upstart know how  
 easily the hand which had raised him could also beat  
 him to the ground†.

Oct.  
8.Dec.  
8.1586.  
Jan.

\* Her majesty, I see, my lord, often tymes doth fall into mylike of this  
 cause. and sundrie opinions it may breede in her majesty withall, but I  
 trust, &c. Leicester to Burghley, in Wright, ii. 273.

† Hardwicke Papers, 299.

Feb. 16. If Elizabeth's anger alarmed, Leicester's silence and apathy perplexed the lords of the council. It was in vain that they offered apologies for his conduct, and forged despatches from him to appease her displeasure\*. She was, or pretended to be, inexorable. Each day she announced his immediate recall; his friends were loaded by her with injuries; her letters to him were filled with expressions of reproach, and menace, and contempt. The earl bore these effusions of the royal anger with the most provoking indifference. Convinced of his influence over her heart, he left to his colleagues in England the task of vindicating his conduct, and continued to act as if he were beyond the reach of her authority. His time was spent in progressing from one city to another; everywhere he gave and received the most sumptuous entertainments; and on all occasions displayed the magnificence of a sovereign prince†. In these altercations three months were suffered to roll away. Elizabeth always threatened, but had never the resolution to strike; and her resentment was, at last, subdued by humble and deprecatory letters from Leicester himself, aided by the address of his colleague, the lord Burghley. That minister, under pretence that his services were become useless, tendered his resignation. She called him a presumptuous fellow: but the next morning her passion had subsided; she listened to the remonstrances of the council, and consented that a plentiful supply of men and money should be sent to the captain-general of the Netherlands‡.

Mar.  
30.

\* I think I may call it a forgery. Leicester had written to Hatton a letter, which the ministers determined to suppress, as it was more calculated to irritate, than to appease the queen. Afterwards, finding it necessary to gain time, "they conferred of the letter again, and blotting out some things, which they thought would be offensive, and mending some other parts as they thought best," they presented it to her. Hardwicke papers, 300.

† There was one exception to this round of entertainments, a day of general fast. Neither Leicester himself, nor any one in his household, was allowed to eat or drink till after sunset. From the dawn till that hour they were employed in public prayer, listening to the discourses of the preachers, and chanting psalms. See Stowe, 713, 714.

‡ All these particulars may be found in the Hardwicke papers, 297. 329.

The arrival of the English army had revived the drooping spirits of the Belgians: its presence in the field, while it gave a lustre to their cause, could retard, but did not repel, the victorious advance of the Spaniards. The troops, indeed, fought with their accustomed valour; they gained some partial advantages; they wrested several towns from the possession of the enemy. But Leicester proved no match for Farnese; the accomplished courtier for the experienced and victorious general. At Oct. the close of the campaign the balance of success was 22. considerably in favour of the prince of Parma; and the 29. earl, on his return to the Hague, was received with murmurs and remonstrances. Though he had conceived a sovereign contempt for the members of the states, as an assembly of merchants and shopkeepers, whose patriotism consisted in purchasing, at the lowest price, the services and blood of their allies; yet he found it difficult to return a satisfactory answer to their complaints, that the result of the campaign had not been answerable to its expense, nor the number of the English forces in the field equal to the number stipulated by treaty; that he had violated their privileges, ruined their finances, neglected military discipline, and extorted money by arbitrary and illegal expedients. In a moment of passion he dissolved the assembly: it continued to sit in defiance of his menaces; he next had recourse to concessions and promises; announced his intention of returning to England; and proposed to intrust the supreme authority, during his absence, to sir William Pelham, or sir William Stanley, or sir Roland York. The states claimed it as their own right: he submitted, and resigned the government in a public sitting; though, at the same time, by a private instrument, he reserved it to himself. The cause of this hasty and informal proceeding was his anxiety to obey the command of

and in Camden, 459; and some in the letters to Leicester, in Wright, ii. 281—9

Elizabeth, that he should immediately return, and aid her with his advice in the important cause of the queen of Scots\*.

The misfortunes of that princess were, at length, drawing to a close: her friends had blindly leagued themselves with her enemies, to conduct her to the scaffold. The exiles whom religion or interest induced to espouse her cause, had soon become split into factions, which laid on each other the blame of their repeated failures and disappointments. Morgan and Paget, who, as the administrators of the queen's dower in France, found numerous adherents among the more needy of their companions, complained with bitterness that the introduction of the jesuit missionaries had rendered the English government more suspicious and vigilant; that tracts had been written, which could only lead to irritation and severity; and that Persons and his brethren had monopolized the office of advocating the claims of Mary in foreign courts, to the exclusion of laymen, who were better adapted for such duties, and to the prejudice of the Scottish queen herself, whose secrets had been betrayed by the confession of Holt in the castle of Edinburgh, by that of Creighton in the Tower of London, and by the disclosures made by their partisan Gray, during the negotiation at Greenwich†. Their opponents replied, that the measures thus condemned had mainly contributed to the preservation of the catholic worship in England; that Morgan and Paget were, at best, suspicious characters, since they were connected with men known to be the emissaries of Walsingham; that their impatience or perfidy had often caused them to adopt dangerous and unlawful

\* Camden, 460. 463. Stowe, 729. 740. Bentivoglio, ii. 92. 99. Strada, l. viii. anno 1586.

† It seems to have been the treachery of Gray that led Mary to throw herself into the arms of this party. Gray had been sent with letters from Holt to Persons at Paris, and was admitted by him and his friends into all their secrets. Murrin, 442. Mary writes to Castelnau, "*Ce voyage de Gray n'a pas nuit seulement à son credit, mais à celui de ceux, qui se sont tant voulu mesler avec luy.*" Jebb, ii. 670.

projects; and that the real friends of Mary should have for their chief object the preservation of her life, and should therefore reject every plan, the discovery or failure of which might lead to her death. With these agreed her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, and all her relations of the house of Guise: but Morgan and Paget possessed friends, to whom the habit of daily intercourse gave a greater influence over her counsels, Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, shut up with her in her prison\*.

Against Morgan, the English queen was animated with the most violent hatred. The charge brought against him by Parry, though unsupported by oral or written testimony, had provoked her to declare that she would give ten thousand pounds for his head; and, when she sent the order of the garter to the French king, she demanded in return the person of Morgan. Henry dared not refuse, but was ashamed to consent.<sup>1585.</sup> He adopted a middle course: he confined the Welshman <sup>Mar.</sup> in the Bastile, and sent his papers to the queen †. <sup>9.</sup> Morgan employed his time in meditating schemes of revenge; and for this purpose, with the aid of Paget, he procured the means of corresponding with Mary; and to effect his purpose, sought out agents and associates in every part of England. But he was opposed by one more artful than himself, by the secretary, Walsingham, who aware of his malice, secretly encouraged his intrigues, and either threw in his way agents previously engaged by himself, or corrupted with bribes the fidelity of the agents whom he had previously engaged. The reader will observe in the history of the conspiracy, which is about to claim his attention, the co-existence of two plots, of one by Morgan against the life of Elizabeth, and of an underplot by Walsingham against the life of

\* See the letters of Morgan and Paget, in Murdin, 442. 459. 465. 479. 496. 499. 507. 516. See also More, *Hist. Provincie Anglicaue*, 139. and Bartoli, 277. I observe that Morgan in his letters always speaks of Allen in terms of respect and friendship, particularly p. 497.

† Murdin, 440—444. 471. Jebb, 577. Egerton, 203. 206.



Mary. This, indeed, was hidden for a time from public view; but so much of it afterwards transpired that it became with some a question whether the former were not devised as a cover for the latter, and whether the design against the queen of England was not originally suggested by the dark and insidious policy of the secretary, that he might thus make the rashness and presumption of the Welshman subservient to his own views against the Scottish queen\*.

Morgan's first application was made to Christopher Blount, a catholic gentleman in the household of Leicester. But Blount was too cautious to compromise himself: he recommended for the hazardous office of transmitting intelligence one Pooley, a servant to lady Sydney, the daughter of Walsingham. Pooley made repeated journeys to Paris, feigning himself a catholic, brought letters to Mary, sent to her the tender of his services, and was intrusted with the secrets of her friends in England†. But he was probably at this moment—he certainly became in a short time—a spy for Walsingham.

1585.  
July  
20.  
1586.  
Jan.  
28.

Another and more important instrument was Gilbert Gifford, of an ancient catholic family in Staffordshire. His father had long been a prisoner on account of his religion; his elder brother was a gentleman pensioner at court; Gilbert himself, at ten years of age, had been sent for his education to one of the English colleges abroad under the direction of the Jesuits. At what time or by what means he was seduced to pander for the artful secretary is unknown, but in December, 1585, he came to England, and repaired to the house of Walsingham's confidential agent, the decipherer Philipps, where he was entertained as a foreigner, under the assumed name of Nicholas Cornelius. He was a young man, without almost the rudiments of a beard,

\* See Nau's apology, Harleian MSS. 4649.

† Murdin, 446. 448. 451. 480. 497.

of simple mien and foreign manners, appeared to be well acquainted with Spain and Italy, and spoke the languages of several countries with as much fluency as if he had been a native of each\*. About three months before his arrival, the Scottish queen had obtained from Elizabeth a promise that Chartley, in Staffordshire, a house belonging to the young earl of Essex, the son-in-law of Leicester, should be assigned for her residence during the winter. Still, to her great disappointment, she had been hitherto detained at Tutbury; but now an order was despatched for Dec. her immediate removal; and Philipps and Gifford followed her separately into Staffordshire, Philipps to join Paulet at Chartley itself†, Gifford to visit the family of his uncle, who resided at the distance of ten miles from Chartley. But of both the real object was the same, to organize a plot by which Mary Stuart might be induced to renew without fear her correspondence with her partisans, and to provide that such correspondence should always pass, both from her and to her, through the hands of Walsingham himself.

For this purpose they first secured the services of a brewer in the neighbouring town of Burton, known in the correspondence by the derisive sobriquet of the "honest man," who on a fixed day of each week was accustomed to send his dray to Chartley with a supply of beer for the inmates. With him and with Paulet it was arranged that the "honest man" should deliver to Paulet every parcel that he might receive either from Gifford for Mary or from Mary for Gifford; and that Paulet, having sent such parcels by express to Walsingham, should, on their return, deliver them, the next week, to "the honest man," to be forwarded by him to the Scottish queen, or to

\* Compare the memoir of the French ambassador, in *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 281—283, with Murdin, 459.

† *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 262.

Gifford\*. A trial of this arrangement was now made. Nicholas Cornelius waited on the French ambassador, and received from him, to transmit to Mary, several letters which had lain at the embassy more than a year. Their arrival satisfied her with respect to the safety of the way which was now open to her of corresponding with her friends; and the haste with which she answered these letters convinced the conspirators that she entertained no suspicion of treachery†.

Gifford, to cover his connection with Walsingham, employed the services of a cousin, or brother-in-law, living in the vicinity of London, by name Thomas Throckmorton‡, who, if we may believe the conspirator, had no notion of the part he was acting. Throckmorton, by one of his servants, forwarded the packets to the secretary, in whose office, through the aid of Thomas Philipps, the noted decipherer, and of Arthur Gregory, a man skilled in counterfeiting seals and of restoring them after they had been broken, the letters were opened, deciphered, and transcribed§. When they had gone through this process, the originals, or the copies, occasionally, perhaps, copies falsified by interpolations, omissions, or additional postscripts, were returned, through Throckmorton and Gifford, to Paulet, to be forwarded, as if they had then come for the first time into his possession. That such falsification was practised on more than one occasion will hardly admit

\* One account states that the packets were enclosed in a case, which "the honest man" secured within the barrel containing the ale for the queen's household.—*Ibid.* p. 234. Another that "the honest man" accompanied the dray himself, and concealed the case in a hollow wall, with a stone to cover it.—*Camden*, 479. We know not what reward he received from Walsingham for his services; but Mary made to him repeated presents. "The honest man tellyth me that wyth the packets he had Xii yn money, besydes all former rewards from thys queene not unknown to you."—*Paulet to Walsingham*, July 5.

† *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 284—286.

‡ *Ibid.* In the secret correspondence, Gifford is often called Pietro and Iason, Throckmorton Baru, Barnabie, and Emilio Russo. The reason is that stenographers were accustomed to invent new alphabets in cipher, each of which substituted a new hieroglyphic, or new appellation, for those persons whose real names it was desirable to conceal.

§ This is plain from the many papers in the State Paper office indorsed by Philipps as deciphered by himself.

of a doubt\*; whence it plainly follows that entire and implicit credit ought not to be given to any of the other documents which have come down to us from that laboratory of fraud.

Gifford, in the course of the next three months, crossed the sea to France, returned to England, revisited Paris, and came back again to England. All these journeys were made with the privity both of Mary and of Walsingham. Mary was deceived by the artful pretences of the traitor that he was closely watched, and in danger of being apprehended; but he promised to leave as his "substitute" a kinsman of his at his uncle's house, and thus to provide for the safe transmission of her correspondence. He went, however, in fact, by order of Walsingham, to join Morgan and Paget, in Paris. By them he was admitted, as a most devoted servant of Mary Stuart, to their secret consultations, and with them he planned, if he did not originate, the conspiracy which subsequently brought the queen to the scaffold. It was in the month of June that he returned the second time, and immediately resumed his former quarters in the neighbourhood of Chartley.

There was yet a fourth and more important emissary. Here the reader should be informed that for more than the last twelve months the attention of Walsingham had been also directed towards an unknown gentleman, who, dressed in the garb of an officer, and assuming the name of Fortescue, had been observed, during the last summer and autumn, to visit the families of several recusants. By the means of Maude, who insinuated himself into the confidence of the stranger, it was discovered that he was John Ballard, a catholic priest, and that his object was to sound the disposition of his hosts, and to collect intelligence for the exiles. Maude was a master in the art of dissimulation. He accompanied the envoy on a tour along the western coast through part of Scotland, the northern counties of

\* See a plain instance in *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 322.

England, and thence through Flanders to Paris. On his way, Ballard communicated his intentions to Allen, by whom they were strongly disapproved: but Morgan and Paget exhorted him to persevere, and introduced him, through Greatley, to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. He informed that minister, that the best part  
 April of the English forces had landed with Leicester in the  
 29. Low Countries; that not only the catholics, but many of the protestants, were ready to espouse the cause of the queen of Scots; and that they only waited for the appearance of a foreign force to rise in her favour. But Mendoza was not satisfied with the information of the agent; he would undertake only to recommend the matter in general terms to his sovereign, and to promise that, if a powerful party could be organized in England, it should receive prompt and competent assistance from the prince of Parma. Both Morgan and Paget were disappointed by the coldness of the Spaniard. New consultations were held, at which it has been already noticed that Gifford assisted as one of Mary Stuart's most trusty servants, and it was resolved that Ballard should return to England to procure satisfactory answers to the queries of Mendoza; that Babington of Dethick, in Derbyshire, should be solicited to undertake the deliverance of the Scottish queen from the custody of Paulet at Chartley, and that an offer which had been made to them by Savage, a soldier of fortune who had served in the wars of the Netherlands, to assassinate the queen of England, should be accepted. Ballard and Savage immediately set out on their way to England, and Gifford came over at the same time, to convey the intelligence to Walsingham, and to promote, by his intrigues, the opposite projects of both parties\*.

\* Camden, 474. Murdin, 517. 527. 530. Strype, iv. 200. Howell's State Trials, 1137. 1144. Chateaufneuf, the French ambassador, attributes this conspiracy at Paris entirely to Gifford, as the emissary of Walsingham. "Voilà les desseins du dit Gifford projetés à Paris par gens mal pratiqués du monde et qui se laissèrent aller aux propositions du dit Gifford, suscité par le conseil d'Angleterre." Lettres de Marie, vi. 237.

Babington, on whose energy and resources so much reliance had been placed, was a young man of family and fortune, who had transmitted letters to the queen of Scots, when she resided in Sheffield, and had always professed the most chivalrous attachment to her cause. It was his own opinion that no attempt should be made in favour of Mary during the life of Elizabeth; but when he was told by Ballard that Savage had offered to murder May the queen, and that the prince of Parma would land at 27. the same time with a powerful force, he waived his objections, and observed, that the death of Elizabeth was of too great importance to be left to the good fortune and intrepidity of one man; that six gentlemen ought to be appointed to that service, while others should liberate the Scottish queen; and that he had several dear and trusty friends, who, he persuaded himself, would risk their lives and fortunes to serve the captive princess, and to relieve their brethren from the yoke of persecution\*.

During the month of June, Babington consulted alternately with Ballard and Savage on the one hand, and with the young men, the companions of his pursuits and pleasures, on the other. The former applauded his resolution; the latter betrayed a reluctance which he could not comprehend. It occurred, or was suggested to him, to ask the advice of Mary herself; and, in a letter which he addressed to her, he stated—unless that letter has been falsified—that it was the determination of himself and his friends, not only to liberate her from captivity, but to “dispatch” the queen, the usurper of her rights; assured her that they were ready, on the receipt of her approbation, to bind themselves on the sacrament, to succeed, or forfeit their lives; and made it their urgent request that, in her answer, she would authorize them to act in her name, would give directions for their guidance, and would promise to them rewards proportionate to their services. The reader will discover in this extraordinary document little of that caution and

June  
5  
to 25.

\* Hardwicke Papers, 226.

disguise, so natural to conspirators. It looks as if it were written for the sole purpose of drawing Mary into the plot, of seducing her to furnish evidence, which might be afterwards used against herself: and this probably was the cause, that some of his contemporaries considered it, though owned by himself, to have been the work of a more subtle and accomplished artist, his friend Pooley, acting under the direction of Walsingham\*.

It chanced that, while he was occupied with the transcription of this letter, a note in cipher was put into his hands "by an unknown boy." It purported to have come from the queen of Scots, chiding him for the suspension of his correspondence, and inquiring whether he had not a packet for her from foreign parts†. Nothing could be more opportune. He sent to her at the same time his own letter which, in consequence of the arrangement already described, came in due course into the hands of Walsingham. Hitherto the secretary had kept his knowledge of the conspiracy locked up within his breast: but with this important instrument in his possession, he deemed it requisite for his own safety to communicate it to the queen, but to the queen only, and not to any member of the council. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger to herself, insisted on the immediate apprehension of Babington and Ballard. But their apprehension would have marred the whole intrigue, for Mary yet had done nothing to affect her life. He remonstrated: his remonstrances, though they did not subdue, shook the resolution of his mistress; and, whilst she took time to deliberate, he determined to proceed; for Babington had promised to be at Lichfield on the 12th of July, to receive there the answer of Mary to his letter‡.

\* It is so stated, but without any authority in support of the statement, in a letter without signature, written about the time to Verstegan at Brussels. Babington's letter may be seen in State Trials, i. 1174.

† This note was dated by her on June 25th, O. S., or July 5, N. S., but was enclosed in one from Curle to Babington, dated June 24, on Saturday. Now, June 24 was Friday. He had written on that day, but was obliged to wait for the queen's letter, and, therefore, added the words "on Saturday," as a correction of the date he had previously given.

‡ This communication is placed by Camden (480, 481) a few days later;

It was plain that on the arrival of the conspirator at Lichfield, a new arrangement on the part of Walsingham would be necessary. The vicinity of that town to Chartley would not allow of the delay, which must be caused by the transmission of the correspondence to London, and of its return thence to "the honest man." July 6. On this account Philipps and Gregory received orders to proceed to Chartley, that the letters might be deciphered on the spot\*.

Philipps, on his arrival, met with a severe disappointment. He had brought with him Babington's letter to Mary, which it was important to deliver immediately, that her answer might be ready against the 12th. But this required the agency of "the honest man," who having already engaged to visit Chartley on that day, refused to anticipate the appointed time †. But, if his obstinacy disconcerted Philipps, the presence of Philipps was the cause of much disquietude to Mary. She suspected that he was the same person, who under that name had been already recommended to her as one "likely to do her service:" but in that case why did he visit Paulet? What could be the object of his long sojourn in the house without any apparent cause? How came he to be treated with so much respect? All this was a mystery, which she sought, but was unable, to unravel‡.

but the following passage from a letter by Philipps shows that it had been made before the 6th of July; and that the queen was still undecided with respect to the arrest. "If by that you finde of her maties disposition it should be necessaries to lay hands upon him in this countrie." Phil. to Walsingham, July 6. I should state that for my acquaintance with this letter, and with several others which follow, I am indebted to the kindness of Will. Leigh, esq., who with extraordinary zeal and research has made a large collection of valuable and inedited documents, illustrative of the secret history of this transaction.

\* The facts are certain: the reason here assigned is only that which appears warranted by the facts.

† Paulet to Wals. July 14. Philipps on his way near Stilton met an express with a packet for Walsingham, which had come through the hands of "the honest man." He opened it, and found within a packet from Mary to the French ambassador. This he took with him to Chartley, that he might have leisure to dispatch it there, and send it upp fit for his "handling." Philipps to Wals., July 8.

‡ See passages about Philipps in Murdin, 455. 533. At Chartley he was treated "avec demonstrence de beaucoup de credit et de respect," which



- July On the 12th "the honest man" received, and delivered
12. the letter from Babington; and on the next day gave to Paulet a note in cipher, addressed to Babington by
  13. Nau, acknowledging the receipt of the letter, and promising a satisfactory answer at the expiration of three days\*. Philipps could not suppress his joy. He saw that Mary entertained no suspicion of the fraud; that she was entirely ignorant of the net which had been so artfully drawn round her for her destruction. He wrote
  4. in triumph to Walsingham; "we attend her very hart "at the next†."

Babington's letter reached Mary at a moment when, if we may believe Nau, her mind was in a state of irritation and despondency. Not only had new restraints been imposed on her liberty, and the few comforts to which she was accustomed, been abridged, but a treaty had been recently concluded between Elizabeth and her son, in which, according to report, her right to the succession was set aside‡. In addition she feared—unjustly, indeed, as the sequel proved—the stern fanaticism of her keeper, and had persuaded herself that the real object of those, who had introduced the bill "for "the safety of the queen's person," was to murder her with impunity in her prison§. Under the influence of

augmented Mary's uneasiness. (Mary to Chasteauneuf, July 17.) One day she caught his eye as she was passing to her carriage, and smiled: which he tells Walsingham, reminded him of the saying,

*Si tibi dicit ave, sicut ab hoste cave.*

\* To Babington's letter a postscript had been appended—whether by Babington or Walsingham, is uncertain—inquiring Mary's opinion of Pooley. Nau replied in her name that she had received a favourable character of the man, but had never ventured to employ him.

† Phil. to Wals., July 14.

‡ Nau's protestation to Elizabeth of Sept. 10. Mary to Chasteauneuf, July 17.

§ In the beginning of the letter mentioned in the last note Mary prayed to be removed from the custody of Paulet, on the ground of danger to her life, "*en tous evenements, soyt de la mort de la Roynie d'Angleterre, ou insurrection dans le pays.*" It may be supposed that this request arose from her knowledge of the conspiracy; but she had long been tormented with the fear of assassination under the care of Paulet, and had repeatedly begged for another keeper. Thus on July 2, in a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, she solicited the good offices of the king of France for that purpose, and on the same ground; "*si ceste Roynie venoyt a fallir ou s'il advenoit quelque insurrection ou tumult en ce pays.*" These applications were made by her before she knew of Babington's conspiracy.

these feelings she resolved to accept the offer of liberation made to her by Babington, but at the same time to admonish him, as he valued her safety or his own, to take no step before he had secured two things, the services of a powerful party within the realm, and the co-operation of a Spanish force from the Netherlands, which he could not expect to obtain before the beginning of autumn. With this view she composed a series of instructions for his guidance; her minute was fashioned by Nau into a letter in French; and that letter was translated by Curle into English\*. Both the French letter and the English version she read and approved; and therefore, for the contents of both, she must be considered accountable. The English version was then put into cipher for Babington†, but, whether correctly or not, it was not in her power to ascertain; and this remark is made, because at her trial the minute and the French letter, which were in the hands of the prosecutors, were suppressed, and only a deciphered copy of the English version,—and that copy made by we know not whom—was produced against her.

\* On the same day, but after this answer was written, Mary received two letters from Morgan, in which were hints of the conspiracy, and advice not to correspond with Ballard. Muriin, 527. 530. In return she reformed him to her letter to Paget, in which she describes her answer to Babington as "an ample dispatch containyng poynt by poynt her advice in all 'things requisite, as well for this side as for without the realm,'" with many of the particulars. (Muriin, 531). Yet neither in this letter nor in others written at the same time and on the same subject, to Morgan, Mendoza, the archbishop of Glasgow, &c., is there a single word allusive to the design of assassinating Elizabeth. But in *the deciphered copy* of the answer to Babington the case is otherwise. There she asks, or is made to ask, "how the six gentlemen do mean to procede," to point out the time when they should be set to work, and to mention the accomplishment of their design, which can mean nothing but the assassination of the queen. (See the letter.) Still she nowhere in it "praises," as Mr. Van Raumer incautiously asserts, "the six men, who had bound themselves 'by oath to murder Elizabeth, and holds out to them the prospects of 'great reward,' p. 311. Probably he misunderstood the following passage: "to yorselve in particular I referre to assure the gentilmen above-mentioned of all that shal be requisite on my parte for the entier execution 'of their good willes"—which passage, whether genuine or not, means that she will write to Mendoza and the king of Spain to aid them with troops from the Netherlands.

† Confession of Nau, Sep. 5, 6.

- July The anticipations of Philipps were now realized.
17. "The honest man" attended on the appointed day: the important letter, in which Mary had made herself a party to the project of insurrection, if not to that of assassination, was intrusted to his care; and he, with his usual fidelity, deposited it in the hands of Paulet.
  18. Not a moment was lost. It was deciphered, and a copy forwarded to Walsingham\*. The day, indeed, was past, on which Babington ought to have been at Lichfield: but the conspirator had not kept his appointment; and
  24. Philipps, on the receipt of new instructions from the
  26. secretary repaired with the original to London

- Two days after his arrival Babington, who still remained in the capital, was accosted by an unknown individual, "a homely serving man in a bleue coate," who put into his hands a small packet, accompanied with a note written in a counterfeit hand without signature, and stating that the packet came from the Scottish queen, and that the writer would discover himself at the next dispatch. Neither the substitution of a strange messenger, nor the mysterious tenor of the note, appears to have awakened any apprehension. It occurred not to Babington to make inquiry how the bearer became possessed of the letter; much less to suspect the adulteration of its contents: though we are assured by Camden, that in the secretary's office a postscript had been added in the same cipher inquiring the names of the six gentlemen who had undertaken to assassinate the queen, and that other falsifications had probably been made in the body of the letter †.

\* Philipps to Wals. July 19. Paulet to Wals. July 20.

† Quibus subdole additum eodem caractere postscriptum, ut nomina sex nobilium ederet, si non et alia. Camd. 479. I see no reason to dispute this testimony of Camden, though the postscript does not appear in any of the deciphered copies. As Babington returned no answer, to have deciphered the postscript, could have served to no other purpose than to provoke suspicion of its authenticity. Mr. Tytler, however, discovered in the State Paper office a scrap of paper in cipher, on which was indorsed, in the hand of Philipps, "The postscript of the Scottish queen's letter to Babington." It has been deciphered by Mr. Robert Lemon, and corresponds exactly with the description of the postscript left by Camden. It is not,

Babington, however, was no longer the same bold and reckless conspirator who had written the treasonable letter to Mary. In the beginning of the month he discovered that his secret had been betrayed: but by whom, or to what extent, was only matter of conjecture. Loath to impeach the fidelity of his friend Pooley, he attributed the disclosure to the perfidy of Maude, and instead of proceeding, as he had promised, to Lichfield, remained in London with the open bearing of conscious innocence; procured for Ballard a passport under a counterfeit name, that he might flee beyond the sea; and through the agency, perhaps at the suggestion, of Pooley, offered his own services to the secretary, to act the part of a spy on the continent, and to discover the traitorous practices of Morgan, Paget, and the other exiles. But he was no match for that statesman in the act of dissimulation. Walsingham, as if he had been duped by this hypocritical display of loyalty, thanked him for his offer, promised him a warrant to travel as soon as the queen should affix her signature, and assured him that his services should be munificently rewarded\*. His mind was now tranquillized: the receipt and decipherment of the answer from the Scottish queen opened to him a new prospect; and he wrote a hasty reply, chiefly, as it would appear, to account for his absence from Lichfield on the appointed day. That cause he attributed to the Aug. betrayal of the plot by Maude. Of his own application 3. to Walsingham he made no mention: but he "had in part prevented the evil," and was seeking "to redress the rest." She was not therefore to despond. Her cause was the cause of God, and of the church: and no danger, no difficulty should prevent him and his friends from risking their lives and their all for its success.

however, a copy of that postscript, but, in my opinion, an original draft of it; for about the middle a certain passage is scored out with a pen, and a correction substituted for the line scored out. See it in Tytler, viii. 287. *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 395.

\* Philipps to Walsingham, July 6. Also Camden 478, who appears not to have been aware how early in the month Babington had made application to Walsingham.

"Wee have vowed," he wrote, "and we will performe  
"or dye\*."

The next morning revealed to him that the second  
Aug. part of this alternative would be his lot. His lodging  
4. was searched by pursuivants, and Ballard, who had not  
yet effected his escape, was apprehended. This arrest  
opened at last the eyes of the conspirator: he now began  
to think that the man whom he had hitherto cherished  
as a faithful friend, was the real traitor, and, under that  
impression, wrote a letter to Pooley expressive of the  
bitterest scorn for his perfidy, and of his own contempt  
of the fate to which that perfidy would expose him †.  
It is difficult to trace his steps for the next two days.  
We find him first consulting his friends, then repaying  
7. as a visitor, or a captive, to the house of Walsingham,  
and afterwards, under the covert of night seeking, with  
Gage, Charnock, Barnewell and Donne, a place of con-  
cealment in St. John's Wood ‡.

As soon as it became known that Babington had  
absconded, the names of the traitors were proclaimed,  
warrants issued, searches made, and an embargo laid  
on the shipping. These measures provoked the most  
extravagant and alarming reports, that a plot had been  
discovered to burn the city and murder the queen; that  
the papists in the country had already risen in aid of  
the conspirators, and that a combined force from France

\* Babington to Mary, Aug. 3.

† See this letter of Aug. 4. in note (I) at the end.

‡ From the confession of Savage in St. Trials it would appear that  
Babington fled on the fifth (i. 1131): from the letter of Chasteaufort of  
the 9th that he was taken on Thursday the 7th, carried before Walsingham  
at his country house, and delivered in charge to two of the secretary's  
servants, from whom he made his escape. Egerton, 73. Camden has a  
more romantic story. Babington complained by letter to Walsingham at  
Windsor of the arrest of Ballard, who was necessary for the success of his  
own mission to the continent, and received for answer that Ballard had  
been taken as a missionary priest, and that he himself would run the risk  
of being taken as the harbourer of a priest, unless he sought shelter for  
the night in Walsingham's house; that Babington followed this advice;  
but finding that he was in reality a prisoner under the charge of Scudamore  
and others, he gave them a supper at a tavern, and afterwards, rising as  
if it was to pay the bill, and leaving his cloak and sword behind him, made  
his escape. Camd. p. 481.

and Spain was actually at sea, if it had not already landed, on the southern coast. The popular excitement, plainly fomented by the government, rose to such a height, that the foreign ambassadors were exposed to insults and menaces in their own houses, and catholics and strangers sought to conceal themselves under the fear of a general massacre\*. At length Walsingham, who had never lost sight of the fugitives, gave orders for their apprehension. Compelled by hunger to quit St. John's Wood, they had repaired to Harrow, to a friendly family of the name of Bellamy, by whom they had been received and concealed in the outhouses and gardens. There they were taken; and were conducted thence Aug 15. under a strong guard, to the Tower, amidst the shouts of the populace, the ringing of bells, and the usual demonstrations of public triumph†. In a short time Abingdon, Salisbury, Tichbourne, Travers, and Tilney were brought up in custody to the same prison; and of all the intimate friends of Babington, one only, Edward Windsor, the brother of the lord Windsor, had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of the pursuivants. But what, it may be asked, became of the pretended friends of Babington, the agents of the secretary? Gifford, the moment his perfidy was about to be disclosed, on the first July day after the transmission of Mary's answer to Babington, in company with Savage and an unknown person, applied to the secretary of the French embassy for the means of sending a messenger to Mary's friends in Paris. He was told that if the messenger were willing to act as servant to Dujardin he might go the next evening as soon as the tide served. The unknown person was understood to be the messenger; but at the appointed hour Gifford himself appeared, saying that he had determined to carry the message himself, took up the portmanteau, and followed Dujardin‡. Thus he escaped the vengeance which

\* Chateaufneuf, Aug. 24. Egerton, 74.

† Camden, 481.

‡ He persevered in his treachery to the last, having left with the ambas-

he feared from the kinsmen of those whom he had betrayed in England, but not that of the kinsmen of Mary Stuart in France. Soon after his arrival, he was thrown into prison, on account of disorderly conduct. There they bound him, and there they kept him in close confinement till his death, in 1590. Pooley was more fortunate. Walsingham shut him up for protection in the Tower, where he remained till he could be discharged without attracting notice or incurring danger\*.

The Scottish queen had been kept in profound ignorance of all these events. When the secretary laid her answer to Babington before the council, it had been resolved to make a seizure of her papers, and to subject her to more rigorous restraint; and Paulet, on the receipt of his instructions, had replied in the pious cant of the day, that he would "execute them with the grace of God."

- Aug. One morning Mary took an airing, attended by her  
8. keeper with more than his usual escort. To her surprise she was not suffered to return. Her tears and entreaties, her refusal and offer of resistance, were of no avail. She was taken to Tixall, a house about three miles distant, belonging to sir Walter Aston; and there two rooms only were allotted for her accommodation; the use of pen, ink and paper, was refused to her; and every means of acquiring information was carefully excluded. Whilst she remained at Tixall, sir William Wade proceeded to Chartley, broke open her cabinets, seized upon her papers, letters, alphabets in cipher, money, jewels, and caskets. But her caskets were the chief objects of the royal solicitude. A special messenger was despatched to superintend the packing of them, and the delivery of them into the queen's own hands. If she expected to find among them the so much coveted casket with Mary's

sador a certain paper, and instructions to trust letters received from Mary or her friends abroad to such persons only as should bring with him the counterpart to that paper. The counterpart he had already deposited in Walsingham's office. Camden, 483.

\* Ibid, 482, 3.

letters and sonnets to Bothwell, she was disappointed ; but she received many valuable jewels, and, what was of greater importance, Mary's secret papers, with her own minute of her letter to Babington, and the original letter in the French language composed by Nau\*. With this prize, and with the two secretaries and Pasquier Aug as prisoners, he returned to London, and Paulet received 23. orders to conduct the captive queen back to Chartley. As she walked to her carriage through a crowd of poor people assembled at the gate, expecting to par-28. take of her usual bounty, "Alas !" she said to them, with tears, "I have nothing to give you. I am a "beggar, as well as you. All is taken from me." When she entered her former apartment, and saw her cabinets opened, and her seals and papers gone, she paused for a moment, and then, turning to Paulet, said, with an air of dignity, "There still remain two "things, sir, which you cannot take from me, the royal "blood which gives me a right to the succession, and "the attachment which binds me to the faith of my "fathers†."

\* Nau in his apology says that Mary had kept them against his frequent remonstrances. "Plusiers lettres et papiers pris dans le cabinet de la Royne, où contre mes instantes remonstrances et advis ils avoient esté gardez et reservez. He mentions in his confession of Sep. 3, une minute de lettre escripte de sa main, qu'il lui plut me baillier pour la polir et mettre au net, ainsi, qu'il apparoit a vos Hon. ayant l'une et l'autre entre vos mains."

† For these particulars see extracts from the letters of Paulet and D'Esneval in Chalmers, i. 429, 430, and Von Raumer, iii. 315, 6. It is to this period that I attribute Elizabeth's celebrated letter to Paulet. "Amyas, my most faithful servant, God reward thee treblefold in the "double for thy most troublesome charge, so well discharged. If you "knew, my Amyas, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart "accepteth your double labours, and faithful actions, your wise orders, and "safe conduct performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would "ease your travel, and rejoice your heart, in that I cannot balance in "any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at: and suppose "no treasure to countervail such a faith: and shall condemn myself in "that fault which I never committed, if I reward not such deserts. Yea, "let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such a "merit with a reward non omnibus datum." She proceeds to tell him, that he should exhort Mary to repent. "Her vile deserts compel these "orders: no excuse can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the actors "of my guiltless death." Strype, iii. 361. He never received this great



- After a short time spent in preparation, Babington  
 Sept. 13. and his fellows, fourteen in number, were brought to  
 14. trial. The indictment charged them with a two-fold  
 15. conspiracy, a plot to murder the queen, and another to  
 raise a rebellion within the realm in favour of Mary  
 Stuart; but of any intention to proceed against Mary  
 Stuart herself, or of any suspicion that she had approved  
 of such designs, not a hint was suffered to transpire.  
 This the queen had expressly forbidden in opposition to  
 her legal advisers, under the notion that it might com-  
 promise her own safety. Of the prisoners seven, Babing-  
 ton, Ballard, Savage, Barnewell, Tichbourne, and Donne,  
 admitted their guilt as to one or other of these plots,  
 and were therefore convicted on their own confessions:  
 of the remaining seven who pleaded not guilty, five  
 were convicted as accomplices on the questionable au-  
 thority of passages extracted from the confessions of the  
 others, and two, Gage and Bellamy, as accessaries after  
 the fact, because they had aided and abetted the con-  
 spirators after the proclamation. Two successive days  
 were allotted for their execution. The queen, whether it  
 was to gratify resentment, or to terrify by example, had  
 wished that they might suffer some kind of death more  
 barbarous and excruciating than the usual punishment  
 of treason; but when it was represented to her that  
 such an alteration would be illegal, she consented that  
 the law should have its course, on condition that the  
 executions were "protracted to the extremities of payne"  
 in them, and in the full sight of the people. On the  
 Sept. first day she was obeyed: but the youth, the rank, and  
 20. the demeanour of the sufferers so powerfully excited the  
 pity, and the barbarity of the punishment the horror, of  
 the spectators, that it was deemed prudent to concede  
 21. something to public feeling; and on the next morning  
 the remaining seven were allowed to expire on the gal-

reward non omnibus datum: but the reason is evident. The reader will afterwards see that he refused to put Mary to death without a warrant, though Elizabeth asked him to do it.

lows, before their bodies were subjected to the knife of the executioner\*.

There was much in the fate of these young men to claim the sympathy of the reader. They were not of that class in which conspirators are generally found. Sprung from the best families in their respective counties, possessed of affluent fortunes, they had hitherto kept aloof from political intrigue, and devoted their time to the pursuits and pleasures befitting their age and station. Probably had it not been for the perfidious emissaries of Morgan and Walsingham, of Morgan, who sought to revenge himself on Elizabeth, and of Walsingham, who cared not whose blood he shed, provided he could shed that of Mary Stuart, none of them would have even thought of the offence for which they suffered†. There were gradations in their guilt. Babington was an assassin: he sought to promote the murderous project of Ballard and Savage, though no particular plan had been selected, no definitive resolution adopted. Of the rest, Abington, Salisbury, and Donne refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of the English, but offered to co-operate in the liberation of the Scottish, queen: the others condemned both projects; their real offence consisted in their silence; they scorned to betray the friends who confided in their honour. "It was

\* See their trials, and the harrowing detail of their sufferings, in Howell, i. 1127—1153. Camden, 483, and two letters from Burghley to Hatton, in possession of Mr. Leigh. Bellamy's brother had died in prison, and Mrs. Bellamy escaped, because she had been indicted, perhaps purposely, by the name of Elizabeth instead of Catherine. Howell, 1141. Sir Walter Raleigh had the good fortune to obtain the grant of Babington's lands. Mordin, 785.

† "Before this thing chanced," says Tichbourne, on the scaffold, "we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Tichbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for: and God knows what less in my head than matters of state!—I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it: but in regard of my friend, I was silent, and so consented." Howell, 1157. He was much pitted by the spectators. Two of his compositions, a short poem written on the evening before his execution, and a letter to his wife on the very morning, have been published by Mr. D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, ii. 105.

“my hard fate,” exclaimed Jones at the bar, “that I must either betray my friend whom I love as myself, or break my allegiance, and undo myself and my posterity. I desired to be accounted a faithful friend, and am condemned as a false traitor. The love of Thomas Salisbury has made me hate myself: but God knows how far I was from intending treason\*.”

We may now return to the history of the Scottish queen. Elizabeth hated her before as a rival: after the perusal of her answer, or reputed answer, to Babington, she sought to revenge herself on her as a murderer; and refused both to listen to the arguments of those who wished to extenuate her offence, or to admit the solicitations of those who hoped to screen her from punishment†. In the council a voice or two pleaded faintly in her favour: but the more influential of the royal advisers would not allow the opportunity to slip from their grasp, and maintained that the death of Mary was indispensably requisite for the security of their religion‡, suppressing, what at the same time they really felt, that it was still more necessary for their own safety. But how was the life of the captive to be taken? Leicester, in his dispatches from Holland, recommended the sure but silent operation of poison§; Walsingham, on the contrary, advised, as more honourable to the sovereign, the form and solemnity of a public trial: and it was at length agreed in council, that the queen of Scots should be removed to the Tower; that she should be brought before a court of delegates according to the provisions of the act for the better security of the royal person; and that her condemnation by that court should be afterwards ratified in parliament. Thus, as it is expressed by Burghley, they would “make the burden “better born, and the world abroad better satisfied¶.” To the tribunal which they had suggested, the queen

\* Howell, i. 1151—5.

† Chasteauneuf, Sept. 13th, in Egerton, 78, 79.

‡ Camden, 485.

§ He even sent a divine over to prove the lawfulness of his proposal.

Ibid.

¶ Ellis, iii. 5.

readily gave her assent; but she objected to the ratification in parliament, and with respect to the place of confinement indulged in her usual vacillation. She would not hear of the Tower, for Mary had partisans in the city: to it she preferred the castle of Hertford. But the next day Hertford was too near: Fotheringay, which was then proposed, was too distant: to Woodstock, Grafton, Coventry, Northampton, and Huntingdon she objected, that they were either insecure or inconvenient; nor was it, till she could no longer procrastinate, that she fixed on the castle of Fotheringay †.

It was foreseen that Mary would confine her defence to the denial of all participation in the plot for the murder of Elizabeth. **Now**, as we have seen, Walsingham held in his possession the minute of her answer to Babington in her own hand, with the answer itself in the French language written by Nau; and it is plain that either of these was sufficient to bring home the charge to the accused, if either of them contained the murderous passages afterwards alleged against her. Yet—and it suggests a strong presumption in her favour—neither of these important documents was produced during the proceedings; not a hint of their existence was suffered to transpire. Walsingham undertook to procure evidence of her guilt from the confessions of her two secretaries ‡, whom he kept in confinement in his own house, secluded from all communication with their friends, and beset with men urging them to betray the secrets, and to bear testimony to the wicked designs of their mistress. Yielding to these solicitations, and to their own Sept. apprehensions, they offered to reveal the whole truth; 2. but their first statements disappointed the expectation 3. of the council. They amounted to nothing more than

\* Ellis, iii. 3. Chalmers, i. 383.

† Confessions of Sept. 2, 3. Though it appears from Burghley's letters of Sept. 4 and 8 that up to that time they had confessed nothing of importance, yet Walsingham had the face to inform the French ambassador, before Aug. 28, that they had already confessed more than was wanted,—“plusque l'on ne vouloit;” and Hatton, on the 8th or 9th of Sept., that Nau had confessed the whole,—“reconnue et confessé tout.” Egerton, 76. 78.

- an acknowledgment that Nau had written in French, and Curle had translated and put into cipher, by order of Mary, three letters to Babington ; that is, the notes of June 15th and July 12th, and the long answer to his letter on July 17th. Lord Burghley attributed this reserve to their notion that they might be punished as accomplices in the plot, and thought, as he wrote to Hatton, that “ they
- Sept. 4. “ wold yeld sôewhat to confirm ther mystriss crymes, if “ they war persuaded that themselves might scape, and the “ blow fall upon ther M<sup>rs</sup>. betwixt hir head and his shoul- “ ders\*.” The documents were then laid before them.
5. The two first they readily acknowledged† ; but, if it be true
6. that they were asked to authenticate with their signatures the deciphered copy of the answer to Babington, it is plain that they objected, and if they admitted it at all, that admission was accompanied with qualifications which rendered the admission of no value. They were now threatened
- Sept. 10. with the Tower, a threat which implied the infliction of torture: and Nau in his terror wrote to the queen a most urgent supplication for mercy, enclosing what he called his protestation, or disclosure of all that he knew “ upon his salvation ;” of which the sum was, that the letter from Babington did, indeed, contain an allusion to her death, but that Mary took no notice of it, because it was a thing which she neither desired nor intended, though she did not think herself obliged to disclose it‡.
21. A short respite followed. But the day after the butchery of Babington and his companions, on the very morning on which the other seven victims were drawn to Tyburn, when it might be expected that the fear of similar punishment would render the two secretaries more tractable and communicative, they were summoned before Bromley, the lord chancellor, lord Burghley, and Sir Christopher Hatton, commissioners appointed by the queen to examine them officially§. After several ques-

\* Burghley to Hatton, Sept. 4, from Mr. Leigh's collection.

† Burghley to Walsingham, Sept. 8. Ellis, iii. 5.

‡ Von Raumer, iii. 329.

§ Their preceding confessions had been “ offered ” (Ellis, iii. 5). Hence

tions respecting the manner in which Mary's letters were prepared, there was put into their hands—not the deciphered copy of the answer to Babington, on the fidelity of which the whole question turned—but “an abstract of the principal points” contained in it; and they were required to say upon oath whether they could not recall those points to their recollection. It is stated that both answered in the affirmative without any exception\*: but the language of the official record is so very ambiguous, as to render it a matter of doubt whether they comprehended in those answers the murderous passages which Mary afterwards disclaimed†.

Of all these proceedings the captive at Chartley was ignorant. When her papers were carried away, her money had been left by the commissioners: this was now taken, that she might not employ it to tempt the fidelity of Paulet or his assistants‡; and shortly afterwards she received an order to prepare for her removal at the end of two days to another house. That house, on her arrival, she found to be the castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, the place selected for her trial and death. At Windsor irresolution still prevailed: new questions continually arose; council after council was held, and the intended proceedings were repeatedly postponed. At last a commission was issued to forty-six individuals, peers, privy counsellors, and judges, constituting them a court to inquire into and determine all offences committed against the statute of the 27th of the queen, either by Mary, daughter and heiress of James V. late king of Scotland, or by any other person

Sept.  
10.

24.

Oct.  
5.

forth they were compulsory, and made before the commissioners. For this reason Nau remarks that Babington and his friends were executed, “avant que l'on me fist jamais un seul interrogation.” Nau, *Apologie*.

\* Hardwicke Papers, 236.

† See note (J.) at the end.

‡ Her money amounted to 107*l.* 2*s.* in English coin, and to five rouleaux of French crowns, three of which were equal to one pound. At the same time were seized two thousand crowns, the portion which Mary had formerly given to Curle's wife at her marriage, and a gold chain and several different sums belonging to Nau of the value of 154*l.* 18*s.* Three pounds in silver were left with Mary to pay the wages of some of her servants, Ellis, iii. 7—11.

- Oct. whomsoever\*. Chasteauneuf immediately demanded
7. in the name of his sovereign that Mary might have the assistance of counsel, according to the practice of all other nations: to which a verbal answer was returned
  9. through Hatton, that the queen wanted not the advice of others to instruct her how she ought to act: and that, as the civil law considered prisoners in the situation of Mary Stuart unworthy of counsel, she did not, by the refusal of such aid, depart from the ordinary forms of justice†.
  11. On the 11th of October six-and-thirty of the commissioners arrived at the castle‡. The following day the Scottish queen remained in her chamber under the pretence of indisposition, but admitted Mildmay and Paulet with a notary to deliver to her a letter from Elizabeth, announcing the object of these proceedings. She read it with an air of composure, and turning to them said, "I am sorry to be charged by my sister the queen with that of which I am innocent: but let it be remembered that I am also a queen, and not amenable to any foreign jurisdiction§."
  13. The next day, having nerved her mind for the meeting, she received deputations from the commissioners, and conversed with them in the hall of the castle.

\* Camden (486) recites it at length.

† Chasteauneuf, 10 Oct. in Egerton, 84, 85.

‡ They were Bromley lord chancellor, Burghley lord treasurer, the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the viscount Montague; the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandys, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheney; sir James Croft, sir Christopher Haston, sir Francis Walsingham, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and sir Amyas Paulet; Wray and Anderson, chief justices of the common pleas and queen's bench; Manwood, chief baron of the exchequer; and Gaudy and Periam, justices of the common pleas and queen's bench.

§ Camden, 490 During this discussion she observed repeatedly that she could not comprehend that passage in the queen's letter, which said that she was living in England under the queen's protection. She therefore requested an explanation of it from Bromley, the chancellor. It was rather a puzzling question. His reply was evasive: that the meaning was plain enough; but that it was not for subjects to interpret the letters of their sovereign, nor had they come there for that purpose. Howell, 1169, 1170. Camd. 492.

There were four interviews ; but no reasoning of the lawyers, no threat of proceeding against her for contumacy, could shake her resolution. She maintained that the statute of the 27th of the queen could not bind her : she was no party to it : it was contrived by her enemies, and passed for her ruin. Whence did the commissioners derive their authority ? From their queen ? but that queen was only her equal, not her superior. Let them find persons who were her peers ; and let such sit in judgment upon her. She was aware that these objections could not save her—for the queen's letter proved that she was condemned already—but she would never be the person to degrade the Scottish crown, nor stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice\*.

An expression, however, had fallen from Hatton in the course of conversation which exceedingly distressed the unfortunate captive ; that, if she refused to plead, the world would attribute her obstinacy to consciousness of guilt. In the silence and solitude of the night the high tone of her mind insensibly relaxed : in the morning she received a harsh and imperious note from the queen, who, after the charge of seeking her death and the destruction of the realm, proceeded thus : “ where-fore our pleasure is that you make answer to the nobles and peers of my kingdom as you would answer to myself, if I were present. Therefore I order, charge, and command you to answer to them ; for I have heard of your arrogance. But act candidly, and you may meet with more favour. Elizabeth †.” It was, probably, this last line that turned the balance. It held out a faint gleam of hope ; and Mary informed the commissioners that she was content to waive her objection, but only on condition that her protest against the au-

Oct.  
14.

\* Ibid. 490—4.

† Of this note we have only the translation by Chasteauneuf, who, however, assures the king of France that he had turned it “ mot à mot de phrase Angloise.” Oct. 20, in Egerton, 86.



thority of the court should be entered on the record of their proceedings. To this, after some demur, they assented.

It was, perhaps, unwise in the Scottish queen to make this concession. She was placed in a situation in which, though she might assert, it was impossible that she could prove, her innocence. A single and friendless female, the inmate of a prison for the last nineteen years, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than the reports collected by her female servants, nor of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries but what her own conjectures might supply, she could be no match for that array of lawyers, judges, and statesmen, who sate marshalled against her. and, if among the commissioners she espied two or three secret friends, they were men whose fidelity was suspected, and whose lives and fortunes probably depended on their vote of that day: the rest comprised the most distinguished of those who for years had sought her death in the council, or had clamorously called for it in parliament. Yet under all these disadvantages she defended herself with spirit and address. For two days she kept at bay the hunters of her life: on the third the proceedings were suspended by an adjournment to Westminster\*.

The charge against the Scottish queen, like that against Babington, had been divided into two parts: that she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure, 1°. the invasion of the realm; 2°. the death of the queen. In proof of the first part was adduced a multitude of letters, either intercepted or found in her cabinet, between her and Mendoza, Morgan, Paget, and others. These, if they were genuine, and of that there

\* Lord Burghley, however, as if she did not labour under sufficient disadvantages, composed and circulated during the trial a paper, which he called "a note of the indignities and wrongs offered by the queen of Scots "to the queen's majesty." See it in Murdin, 584.

can be little doubt, showed that she had not only approved the plan of invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution, by inducing her friends in Scotland to rise in arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent the march of succours to England\*. Mary, though she refused to admit, did not deny, the charge in general. She treated it as frivolous. She was not bound, she said, by their statutes; she was the equal, not the subject of Elizabeth; and between equals and sovereigns there was no other law but the law of nature. That law fully authorized her to seek her deliverance from an unjust captivity†. She had proposed terms, offered securities, and then had claimed the right of employing every resource in her power for the recovery of her liberty. Yet her prayers, her offers, her warnings had been despised. Where was the man that could blame her, if, in such circumstances, she had accepted the tenders of aid which were made to her by her friends?

With respect to the second charge that she had conspired the death of the queen, she denied it with tears, and solemnly called on God to bear witness to her innocence‡. The crown lawyers produced in proof, first, the copy of the letter from Babington, in which occurred this passage: "For the despatch of the usurper, from the obedience of whom by the excommunication of

\* This project to seize the person of James, and carry him out of the kingdom, did her much harm. Yet it would have been fair to recollect that it was suggested to her by the conduct of her enemies, who had repeatedly made themselves masters of the royal person, and of Elizabeth, who had as often required that the king should be sent into England. Another letter was read, in which she expressed an intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right to the succession to the English throne. Hardwicke papers, 247. In return she merely observed that she had been forced to such measures. Her enemies had deprived her of all hope in England; she was therefore compelled to purchase friends abroad. How-eil, 1188.

† Je ne le nye pas : et s'il estoit encore à faire, je le feray, comme j'ay faict, pour chercher ma liberté. Egerton, 103.

‡ "Si onques j'ai dispose n'y consenty à telles pratiques que touchassent la mort de ma sour, je prie Dieu qu'il ne me fasse jamais mercy." Ibid.

“her we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear to the catholic cause and your majesty’s service, will undertake the tragical execution;” and then a copy of seven points for deliberation, said to be extracted from her answer to Babington: of which points the sixth was, “by what meanes doe the six gentlemen deliberate to procede\*?” There were other passages in the same copy equally allusive to the design of the six gentlemen; but the prosecutors insisted particularly on this. It established, they maintained, her participation with Babington in the crime of imagining and compassing the death of the queen.

It should, however, be remembered that the papers exhibited to the court were only copies. No attempt was made to show what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. On these points the crown lawyers observed a mysterious silence. They deemed it sufficient to show that there had once been originals with which the copies corresponded: and for that purpose they adduced, 1°. a confession of Babington that he had written a letter to Mary, and had received an answer, containing similar passages, and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals: 2°. the confessions, perhaps garbled † and misrepresented confessions, of Nau and Curle, from which it seemed to follow that the manner of proceeding by the six gentlemen was one of the subjects recommended for deliberation by Mary: 3°. the admission in several of her letters to her foreign correspondents that she had received from the conspira-

\* It bears an awkward, and therefore suspicious, appearance, that, while the language in the other points is affirmative, in this point, placed in the midst of them, it should assume an interrogative form. The reader wonders how the question came there.

† Of such garbling being used in state prosecutions the reader will meet with abundant proof in the history of the next reign.

tors notice of their intentions, and had given to them instructions on the several heads. These confessions and admissions amounted, it was maintained, to satisfactory proof of the authenticity of the copies.

At first the Scottish queen, in ignorance of the proofs to be brought forward, refused to acknowledge any correspondence between herself and Babington; but, after the production and lecture of the letters, she admitted, without hesitation, her note of the 5th of July, N. S., but resolutely denied that she had ever written any *such* answer as that of the date of July 17th. "She protested," says Burghley, "that the poynts of the lettres that concerned the practise against the Q. Ma<sup>ty</sup>s. person was never by hir wrytten, nor of hir knolledg\*." She contended that, if her adversaries had really sought to discover the truth, instead of putting Babington to death they would have produced him to bear testimony against her: that his confession, if he made it, was of no value, because it was probably dictated by the hope of mercy: that she knew not what Nau and Curle might have been led to acknowledge, for Nau was timid and simple, and Curle the constant follower of Nau: it might be that they had confessed what was false under the notion that they would thus save their own lives without endangering hers: that this was not the first time that her letters had been copied and interpolated: it was easy for one man to imitate the ciphers and hand-writing of another: it had been lately done in France, and she greatly feared that it had also been done in England by Walsingham, to bring her to the scaffold: for Walsingham, if she were rightly informed, had before this been practising against her life and that of her son. At these words the secretary rose, and protested before God, that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, nor as a public officer any thing unworthy of

\* Burghley to Davison. Oct. 15. Ellis, III. 12. Hardwicke pap. i. 233.  
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his place. Though his answer was rather an evasion than a denial of the charge, Mary prayed him not to be offended: she had spoken freely what she had heard, and hoped that he would give no more credit to those who slandered her than she did to those who accused him\*. She renewed her declaration that she knew nothing of the obnoxious passages; and asked for her papers—with them she might perhaps explain the mystery—and for her secretaries—were they confronted with her, the truth might soon be elicited—at present they ought to be considered unworthy of credit. They had been sworn to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly, they had perjured themselves to her; if falsely, they had perjured themselves to the queen of England.

It is plain that, since the authenticity of the copy was disputed, there remained but two ways of solving the difficulty: the first and most satisfactory, by the production of the original minute and letter, which were in the hands of Walsingham; and, if that could not be granted, by confronting Nau and Curle with their mistress, to which Elizabeth had with some reluctance assented. Both, however, for reasons best known to the prosecutors, were refused; and Mary demanded to be heard in full parliament, or before the queen in council, who, she persuaded herself, would not refuse that favour to a sister queen. Then rising with an air of confidence, and  
 Oct. 15. addressing a few words aside to the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, Hatton, and Walsingham, she retired to her own apartment. The commissioners, after a short consultation, adjourned the court, to meet again in the star-chamber at Westminster, on the 25th of October†.

\* Camden, 499. From part of Walsingham's answer—"if I had employed Ballard to plot for me, why did he not say so, to save his life?" It is plain that Mary had accused him of employing Ballard to get up the plot. If, instead of Ballard, she had named Maude, the companion of Ballard, she would not have been far from the truth.

† Camden, 506. Burghley, writing the same day, says of Mary's defence, "gret debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with gret stomaking." He assigns the following reasons for the adjournment: that, though the commissioners were ready to give judgment, they could

On that day, notwithstanding the reclamation of the French ambassador, the court was opened in the presence of a numerous assemblage of members belonging to both houses of parliament. Care was now taken to bring forward the two secretaries—not, however, that they might be confronted with Mary, who was absent, immured in the castle of Fotheringay—but that they might affirm the truth of the depositions which they had previously made. This they certainly did: but, if we may believe Nau, it was not all. He moreover maintained, as he had on all occasions maintained, that the principal heads of accusation, those on which alone could be based any pretext for condemnation, were false. Walsingham rose with warmth, reproached him with speaking contrary to his conscience, and endeavoured to silence him with the depositions of the conspirators already executed, and of some of Mary's servants. But Nau repeated his former assertion, summoned the commissioners to answer before God and all christian kings and princes if on such false charges they should condemn a queen, no less a sovereign than their own; and loudly demanded that this his protestation should be entered on the record\*. But his efforts were fruitless. With the exception of the lord Zouch on the separate charge of assassination, the commissioners unanimously gave judgment, that

not do it till the record were drawn up, which would occupy five or six days. Now, as their company amounted to about 2000 persons, they could not remain there so long without causing "a waste of bread greater than the country could bear." Burghley to Davison, Oct. 15. Ellis, iii. 13. But Walsingham informs the ambassadors at foreign courts that the adjournment "was thought convenient in respect the matter touched a person of her qualitie." Wright, ii. 320. In fact, on October 7, the queen had forbidden the commissioners to proceed to the sentence against her. "We find it meet, and it is our pleasure, that you forbear the pronouncing thereof, until such time as you (Burghley and his colleagues) shall have made your personal return to our presence, and report to us your proceedings and opinions in that behalf." Nicholas, Life of Davidson, p. 48.

\* In the same despatch, Walsingham declares that "Nau and Curle openly affirmed as much *viva voce* as they had before deposed in writing."

Oct. 29. after the last session of parliament, and before the date of their commission, Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called queen of Scotland, and pretending title to the crown of England, had, with the aid and abettance of her secretaries Nau and Curle, compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction, of the queen, contrary to the form of the statute specified in the commission. This, by the act, was equivalent to a sentence of death against all the three, to be carried into execution at the pleasure of the queen. A provision was, however, added, that the judgment against the mother should not derogate from the right or dignity of her son, James, king of Scotland, but that he should continue in the same place, rank and right, as if it had never been pronounced\*. The judgment was then entered in the form of a record, and afterwards subscribed by the several commissioners, even by those who had not attended at Fotheringhay†.

The life of the Scottish queen now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. From foreign powers she could expect no effectual relief. The Spanish monarch had to maintain his ground in Flanders against the combined army of the insurgents and the English; the king of France, harassed by religious wars, might entreat, but could not intimidate; and with respect to her son, the Scottish king, it was plain that his claim to the succession would render him unwilling, and the English pensioners in his council would render him unable, to draw the sword in her defence. But indecision was one of the leading traits in the character of her adversary. Elizabeth, while her object was at a distance, pressed towards it with impatience; but always hesitated to grasp it when it

\* Camden, 507. Chasteauneuf in Egerton, 86. 88, 89. Statutes of Realm, iv. 703.

† See note (K)

came within her reach. The death-warrant of her rival lay ready for her signature: but sometimes her imagination conjured up phantoms of danger from the desperation of Mary's partisans, and the resentment of James and the catholic powers; sometimes she shuddered at the infamy which would cover her name if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign. As was usual, she sought refuge in procrastination. An interval of a month or two would persuade the world that she was reluctant to take the life of Mary; in the mean time that princess might die a natural death; she might be despatched by secret violence; at all events, the execution might be performed without the knowledge of the queen, or appear to be wrung from her by the voice of the people\*.

Anticipating the conviction of her prisoner, Elizabeth had summoned a parliament to meet on the fifteenth of October. The length of the trial at Fotheringay compelled her to prorogue it to the twenty-ninth of the same month. The proceedings on the trial were laid before each house; the commissioners, in long speeches, maintained the guilt of the royal prisoner; and the lords and commons united in a petition, that speedy execution might be done upon the convict. Elizabeth, after many thanks for their loyalty, replied that she would take time to deliberate, and "commend herself to be directed by "God's Spirit;" and then asked the question wheth-

\* Je ne voudrais pas assurer que la Roynie face exécuter le jugement, mais comme il sera donné, les ennemis de la Roynie d'Eccosse la pourront quelque jour prendre de telle humeur que l'exécution en pourra suivre un matin, devant qu'on y ait pensé, et puis on dira qu'elle est morte d'un catarre. Chasteaun. Oct. 27. Egerion, 89. He was mistaken. Elizabeth's counsellors sought indeed the death of Mary, for their own security as well as that of the queen: Burghley feared that Elizabeth's "slackness" did not stand with her surety or *their own*." (Burghley to Leicester, Oct. 26.) Walsingham believed the death of Mary necessary "for her "majesties preservation and her *servants*," (Wal. to Shrewsbury, Oct. 6.); but, for that very reason they wished it to take place openly, and in consequence of the judgment already given.



- Nov. er no expedient could be devised to secure her  
 14. own life from danger, and at the same time spare  
 her the necessity of taking that of her kinswoman.  
 When the question was put, the members rose in  
 25. their places, and pronounced such an expedient im-  
 possible. The chancellor and speaker communicated  
 the result to the queen, and Elizabeth returned this  
 ambiguous answer: "If I should say that I meant  
 "not to grant your petition, by my faith I should  
 "say unto you more, perhaps, than I mean. And  
 "if I should say that I mean to grant it, I  
 "should tell you more than is fit for you to know.  
 "Thus I must deliver to you an answer answer-  
 "less\*."

- The unwelcome task of announcing these occurrences  
 22. to Mary was imposed on lord Buckhurst, in company  
 with Beale, the clerk of the council. Armed with  
 instructions, and a mass of documents from Wal-  
 singham's office, they proceeded to Fotheringay, and  
 were introduced to the Scottish queen, together with  
 her keepers, Paulet and Drury. Buckhurst informed  
 19 her that he was come, by order of Elizabeth, to ac-  
 quaint her with the proceedings in her cause since  
 the adjournment of the commissioners to Westmin-  
 ster. There they had examined her secretaries, who  
 had repeated their former statements, and there, af-  
 ter mature deliberation, they had declared her guilty,

\* Lord's Journals, 124, 125. Howell, 118<sup>1</sup>—1201. D'Ewes, 380. Puckering, the speaker, to induce her to grant the execution, made use of two singular arguments. 1<sup>o</sup>. Those who had signed the association were bound, by their oath, to kill the queen of Scots. If they should do it without license, they would incur the indignation of her majesty; if they did not do it, they would be perjured, and incur the indignation of God. 2<sup>o</sup>. Not only the life, but the salvation of her majesty was at stake. She would offend God by sparing the wicked princess whom God had delivered into her hands to be put to death. She should beware of imitating Saul, who had spared Agag, and Ahab who had spared Benhadad. D'Ewes, 401. Sir James Croft, who seems to have excelled all others in religious cant, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God, to incline her majesty's heart to grant the petition, might be composed and printed, in order to be used daily in the house of commons, and by its members in their enambers and lodgings Ibid. 404.

and pronounced judgment against her, which judgment had since been confirmed by the lords and commons in parliament, who had petitioned that it might be immediately carried into execution, because they believed her to be the "seed plott, chief motive and author, of the many forreine and home conspiracies against the person, crowne and state, of the queen;" and that whilst she (Mary) was alive there could be no security for "the queen's person, or the preservation of the state of religion and commonwealth of the realm." In conclusion, she was told that if she had any private communication to make it would be received by Buckhurst or Beale, and that if she required spiritual assistance, the services of a bishop and a dean of the reformed church should be at her disposal.

It had probably been expected that this announcement would tame the spirit of the Scottish queen\*; but she had already nerved her mind for the shock, and thanked them for the honesty of their avowal that her death was the only security for their church. She had long known she was to be sacrificed for that purpose. They might say that she had been privy to a conspiracy against the life of their queen. She utterly denied it. She had never contrived, nor imagined nor commanded, any such thing. She had, indeed, accepted an offer made to rescue her from prison; and where was the person in her situation who would not, after an unjust captivity of twenty years, have done the same? No! her real crime was her adhesion to the religion of her fathers,—a crime of which she was proud, and for which she would be happy to lay down her life. With respect to any secret communication, she had but two requests

\* On me menace, si je me demande pardon; mais je dis: puisque j'ai été destinée à mourir, qu'ils passent outre en leur injustice, esperant que Dieu m'en recompensera en l'autre monde. Mary to Mendoza, Lettres, vi. 459.

to make to the English queen:—1. That her money and jewels might be restored to her, for the purpose of bequeathing them as legacies to her servants; and, 2. That she might be indulged with the attendance of a catholic priest; for, as she had always lived, so it was her resolution to die, a member of the catholic church\*.

On the second day after this, she received a visit from Paulet, who told her that since she had made no use of the time that was granted to her to confess and ask pardon, the queen had ordered her chair of state and canopy to be removed. She was a woman dead in law, and not entitled to the insignia of royalty. They were taken down by a party of his men. He then seated himself before her, face to face, put on his hat, and ordered her billiard-table to be removed, saying that she ought to prepare herself for death, and could have no time to spend in idle amusements. She replied that she had never played on it yet; for they had given her employment in other ways†. Mary was now occupied, for some days, in writing several important letters:—to pope Sixtus V., to the duke of Guise, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, in Paris. Her servants, to supply the place of her canopy of state, had affixed to the wall a large cross, bearing an image of Christ in the agony of death. This, in other circumstances, would have aroused the iconoclast zeal of Paulet; but the next time that he came into her presence he was an altered and an humbled man. He had been severely rebuked by Elizabeth for his former rudeness to Mary. He came to apologize, saying that he had mistaken an order from the council for an order from the queen‡, and to inform Mary that her

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\* The instructions to lord Buckhurst are in *Lettres de Marie* vii. 210 the other particulars in Mary's own letters, in vol. vi. 459. 464. 468 470.

† Mary to the archbishop of Glasgow, *Lettres*, vi. 470.

‡ *Disant (Paulet et Drury) n'avoir fait cet acte par commandement*

requests by lord Buckhurst had been so far granted that her money would be restored to her, and Préau, her almoner, would have the same freedom of waiting upon her as any of her other servants. She gladly availed herself of this concession, and confided to the care of Préau the letters she had written. They all reached their destination.

The judgment of the commissioners had at length been proclaimed by sound of trumpet in London. The Dec. bells tolled for twenty-four hours; bonfires blazed in the streets; and the citizens appeared intoxicated with joy\*. This intelligence awakened new alarms in the breast of the unfortunate queen. She knew that by the late statute her life lay at the mercy of every member of the association; she recollected the fate of the earl of Northumberland in the Tower; and she persuaded herself that it would be her lot to fall by the hand of an assassin. After many solicitations, she obtained permission to make her last requests to Elizabeth. 19. They were four. that her dead body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days. Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression, which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. She thanked God that he had given her the courage to suffer injustice without murmuring; expressed her regret that her papers had

de leur royne, mais par l'advis de quelques uns du conseil. Je leur ay montré, au lieu de mes armes audit days, la croix de mon sauveur. Mary to the duke of Guise, *Lettres*, vi. 464.

\* "The queen's majesty is contented to give order for the publication of the proclamation; and it is hoped that she will be moved by their earnest instances to proceed thoroughly in this cause." Walsingham to Shrewsbury, Dec. 2.

not been honestly and entirely submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, who would then have seen whether the safety of their sovereign was the real object of her adversaries; and, as she was about to leave this world, and was preparing herself for a better, hoped it would not be deemed presumption, if she reminded her good sister, that the day would come, when she must render an account of her conduct to an unerring Judge, no less than those who had gone before her\*. This noble letter, worthy of a queen and a martyr, was the last which Mary wrote to her English cousin. It drew tears from Elizabeth, but nothing more. No answer was returned†.

These extraordinary proceedings had attracted the notice, and excited the wonder of the neighbouring nations. All sovereigns felt a common interest in the fate of Mary; the kings of France and Scotland, as more nearly allied in blood, were more eager to rescue her from death. 1°. Though Henry III. might hate the house of Guise, he could not see, with indifference, the head of a princess, who had worn the crown of France, fall beneath the axe of the executioner. But the weight of his interposition was lightened by the knowledge of his necessities; and the harshness of a direct refusal was eluded by fraud and cunning. At the request of Chasteauneuf, he had sent Bellievre with instructions to remonstrate in the most forcible and pointed language. The ambassador found unusual ob-  
**Nov.** stacles thrown in his way. He was first delayed under  
**20.** pretext that hired assassins, unknown to him, had insinuated themselves among his followers; and then an inquiry was ordered, whether the plague had not made its appearance in his household. In the mean time,

\* "Ne m'accusez de presumption, si, abandonnant ce monde, et me préparant pour un meilleur, je vous remonstre qu'un jour vous auez à respondre de votre charge aussi bien que ceux, qui y sont envoyez les premiers." 19 Decembre. The whole letter is in Jebb, ii. 295.

† "There ys a letter from the Scottish queen, that hath wrought tears; but I trust shall doe no further herein; albeit the delay is too dangerous." Leicester to Walsingham. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 22.

the resolution of parliament, that nothing short of the death of Mary could secure the life of Elizabeth, had been made public; and then Bellievre was introduced to the queen, seated on her throne, and surrounded by her officers of state. She listened to him with impatience; and replied in a long and studied harangue, but with a tone of asperity and flush of countenance, which betrayed her inward emotion. She exaggerated the guilt of Mary, and claimed the praise of forbearance. She was, indeed, loath to shed the blood of one so nearly allied to her; but she knew not how to refuse the just prayer of her people. He must, therefore, be content to wait a day or two, and he should receive her final determination. For more than a month Bellievre attended at court; but all his applications were fruitless; and, when every other excuse had been exhausted, he was told that the queen would send an answer by a messenger of her own\*. After his departure, L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but was silenced by a low and unworthy artifice. An uncertain rumour had been spread of a new plot to assassinate the queen, which had been traced to the French embassy. The ministers assured L'Aubespine that they believed him incapable of the crime; but

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\* See a very interesting account from the *Registre de dépêches de M. de Villeroy, secrétaire d'état*, published in the life of lord Egerton, pp. 6, 7. When Bellievre told her that the king would resent the execution of Mary, she asked, "Sir, have you authority from your sovereign to employ such language?" "Yes, madam, he has expressly commanded me to use it." "Is your authority signed with his own hand?" "It is, madam." "Then I require you to testify as much in your writing." This he did, p. 7; and Elizabeth wrote to the king a letter so characteristic of that lofty spirit which she occasionally assumed, that I may be allowed to copy some part of it. "Monsieur de Bellievre m'a fait entendre une language, que je ne puis trop bien interpreter. Car, pour vous en ressentir, que je me sauve la vie, me semble une menace d'ennemy, que je le vous prometz, ne me fera jamais craindre; ains, est le plus court chemin, pour depecher la cause de tant de malheurs. . . . Laissez moi, je vous prie, entendre en quel terme je prendray ces mots. Car je ne vivray heure que prince quelconque se puisse vanter de tant d'humilité mienne, que je boivre, a mon deshonneur un tel traict. . . . Je ne suis naye de si bas lieu, ni gouverne si petitz royaumes, que, en droict et honneur je cederay a prince vivant que m'injurera; et ne doute par la grace de dieu, que ne face ma partie assez forte, pour me conserver. Egerton, quarto, 98.

they imprisoned his secretary, examined witnesses, and produced documents in proof of the plot. The Frenchman remonstrated in haughty and offensive language: all official communication between the two courts was suspended; and five despatches from the ambassador were at different times intercepted, and opened in presence of the council. The object of this quarrel, on the part of the English ministers, was to prevent any further application in favour of the queen of Scots. Henry, to show that he felt the insult, laid an embargo on the English shipping, and refused audience to the English ambassador. Still his anxiety to save the life of Mary subdued his pride. He condescended to despatch another envoy with new credentials. But these efforts were useless: Elizabeth had no leisure to admit him till Mary had perished: then apologies were made; the innocence of L'Aubespine was acknowledged; and both the king and the ambassador were loaded with praise and compliments\*.

James of Scotland felt little for a mother whom he had never known, and whom he had been taught to look upon as an enemy, seeking to deprive him of his authority. He would probably have abandoned her to her fate without a sigh, had he not been roused from his apathy by the admonition of the French court, that her execution would exclude him from the succession to the English throne; and by the remonstrances of the Scottish nobles, who could not brook the notion that a Scottish queen should perish on a scaffold. James had already written to Elizabeth and the chief of her counsellors, and had commissioned Archibald Douglas, the Scottish resident, to expostulate: he next sent sir Robert Keith, a young man, without weight or experi-

\* Camd. 520. Mardin, 578—583. Jebb, 324. In Villeroy's registre in Egerton, is this remark on the papers produced, "Avoient ces beaux conseillers d'Angleterre forgé, falsifié et composé toutes telles escritures qu'ils avoient voulu sur ce fait par eux inventé et projeté. Car il faut noter que jamais ne produisent les mesmes *pieces originales des procédures*, mais seulement des copies, esquelles ils ajoutent, ou diminuent ce qu'il leur plait." Egerton, 101.

ence, and a pensionary of the English court, to request **Nov.** that proceedings against his mother might be stayed, **12.** till he should be made acquainted with her offence; and, when he received for answer that such delay might prove dangerous to the life of Elizabeth, he was prevailed **Dec.** upon to despatch two new envoys, the master of Gray **10.** and sir Robert Melville, to employ entreaties and threats. They suggested that Mary's life should be spared, on condition that she resigned all her rights to her son: this would secure Elizabeth from the fear of a competitor, and the established church from the enmity of a catholic successor. It was replied, that after her condemnation, Mary had no rights to resign. They protested, in their master's name, that he would be compelled, in honour, to revenge her death. The menace was received with the most marked contempt\*. There can be little doubt that James was sincere; but he employed men to negociate in favour of his mother, who deemed her death necessary for their own safety. Gray publicly performed the duty entrusted to him; but before he left Scotland, he had advised by letter the employment of poison, and now he privately whispered in the ear of Elizabeth, that "the dead cannot bite." On his return James expressed his suspicions; but the favourite was able to persuade the king of his innocence, and to divert the royal vengeance from himself to his accomplice, Archibald Douglas†.

\* See Egerton, 81. 87. 96. 114. Gray's despatch, Robertson, ii. App. xiv. Ellis, iii. 21. She would not understand their proposal. "So the earl of Leicester answered that our meaning was, that the king should be put in his mother's place. Is it so, the queen answered, then I put myself in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a duchy, or an earldome to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place." Ibid. Stuart, another envoy, assured her that James had sent them merely to save appearances; and that, whatever he might pretend, he would be easily pacified with a present of dogs and deer. Egerton, 116.

† See the despatches in Robertson, ii. App. xiii. xiv. The records of the treachery of Gray and Douglas are their own letters. "The necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way." Sept. 8. Murdin, 568. "This is a hard matter to the king not to make any mediation for his mother: yet the matter is also hard for you and me, although



After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution ; but that irresolution arose, not from any feeling of pity, but from a regard to her own reputation ; and she was often heard to lament, that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen. Preparatory to the execution, a precept had been directed to certain members of the association ; in its place was substituted a warrant, in Dec. the usual form, to the sheriff of Northampton\* ; and  
 10. this was afterwards superseded by a commission, to the  
 20. earl of Shrewsbury, as earl marshal, with the earls of Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke, as his assistants. The last met with the queen's approbation ; but  
 1587. Feb. remained, apparently unnoticed, for six weeks in the custody of Davison, lately appointed one of her secretaries. After the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, she signed it, telling Davison to take it to the great seal, and to "trouble her no more with it:" adding, with a smile of irony, that on his way he might call on Walsingham, who was sick, and who, she feared, "at the sight of it would die outright." Then suddenly recollecting herself, she said, "Surely Paulet and Drury," (the latter had been lately appointed additional keeper of Mary) "might ease me of this burthen. Do you and "Walsingham sound their dispositions."

A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringay on the same day, in the name of both secretaries. It

"we might do her good: for I know, as God lives, it shall be a staff to break our own heads. He has commanded you to deal very instantly for her; but if matters might stand well between the queen and our own sovereign, I care not if she were out of the way." Lodge, *it.* 331. "By God, the matter is hard to you and me both." Nov. 27. Murdin, 573. Answer ye to the queen there and all my honourable friends, that they shall find me always constant, and that in my negociation I shall do nothing but for their contentment, reserving my duty to my sovereigna." Dec. 9. Lodge, *it.* 335. "By God, I say this far, if ever she (Elizabeth) knew me do wrong, it was for that I entered further for her service than good reason permitted." Dec. 25. Murdin, 575.  
 \* They are in Murdin, 574. 576.

informed the two keepers, that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Of her guilt they could not doubt after her trial; and the oath of association which they had taken, would have cleared their consciences before God, their reputations before men. Paulet was a stern and unfeeling bigot. He hated Mary, because she was a catholic; he sought her death, because he believed her the enemy of his religion. Yet he was an honest man, too intelligent to be the dupe of such sophistry, and too resolute to sacrifice his conscience to the will of his mistress. He Feb. 2. replied immediately, that his goods, living, and life, were at the queen's service; he was ready, if it pleased her, to forfeit them the next morning; but he would never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant. A postscript added that Drury "subscribed in heart to Paulet's opinion \*."

Davison little suspected at the time, that he was destined to become the victim of Elizabeth's irresolution and dissimulation. The morning after the signature of the commission, he received an order from her, to wait, if it was not too late, till she had spoken to him: and when he informed her that the great seal was already appended to it, was asked by her with an air of surprise, why he had made "such haste;" to which he replied that on matters of consequence, it was not for him "to dally with her majesty's commands." Her words and manner awakened in him some misgivings. He consulted Hatton, and Hatton the lord treasurer,

\* Davison repeatedly requested that his letters might be burnt, "because they were not fit to be kept." Paulet replied, "If I should say I have burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if any body would believe me: and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your own hands at my coming to London." Feb. 8th. He may have done so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light. They have been often published. See Hearne's Rob. of Gloucester, 673—6. and Howell's State Trials, i. 1241.

who, having ascertained that she had not positively recalled the commission, assembled the council. It was there resolved unanimously, that the queen had done all that the law required on her part; that to trouble her further was needless, dangerous, and offensive to her feelings; and that it was now their duty to proceed, and take the rest of the burthen on themselves.

- On the following morning Elizabeth acquainted Davison that, in a dream during the night, she had punished him severely as the cause of the Scottish queen's death. Though she said it with a smile, he was alarmed, suspecting that she began to waver; and therefore openly put the question to her, whether she intended to proceed to the execution of the commission or not. "Yea, by G—," was her reply, with more than usual vehemence, but she did not like the form; for it threw all the responsibility on herself. The same day arrived the answer already mentioned from Paulet and Drury; and Burghley wrote to the commissioners a short letter, which was signed by each of the counsellors. With it and the commission itself, Beal, clerk of the council, hastened to Fotheringay\*.
- Feb. 3. In the course of the next day the queen inquired of Davison, what answer had been returned by Paulet and Drury. When he had informed her, she burst into expressions of anger and disappointment. Mary's keeper was no longer "her dear and faithful Paulet," but "a precise and dainty fellow," who scrupled not to break his oath, that he might throw the blame upon her. Davison ventured to say that, if he had put Mary to death without warrant, she would have to avow or to avenge the deed. If she avowed it, the disgrace would be hers; if she avenged it, she would ruin the servants who had obeyed her orders. But she abruptly withdrew into her closet, and did not again mention the subject for some days. Had she then forgotten the fatal war-

\* In Davison's apology the letter to the commissioners is said to have been written on the 2d, but it bears the date of the 3d.

rant? No; for, if we may believe Davison, on the very morning of Mary's death she expressed to him her surprise that it had not yet been executed\*.

At Fotheringay the frequent arrival of strangers had of late excited misgivings and apprehensions among the servants of Mary. On the seventh of February, Feb. 7. the earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of earl marshal instantly disclosed the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed, and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. The earl entered uncovered; he was followed by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beal, after a short preface, read aloud the commission for the execution. Mary listened, without any change of countenance. Then, crossing herself, she bade them welcome: the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived: she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burden to herself; nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy, or more honourable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and, in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it."

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish Testament, and of course the oath is of no value."

\* For all these particulars, see Davison's answers to the commissioners in Strype, iii. 375. His apologies in Robertson, ii. App. xix, and Whitaker, iii. 544. Also Camden, 545. Somers's Tracts, i. 224. St. Trials, 1929.—1250. If I can understand Burghley's short notes in Strype, iii. App. 142, Leicester informed the council, that it was the queen's pleasure that they should proceed; but at the same time, should conceal the particulars from her.

"It is a catholic Testament," rejoined the queen; "on that account I prize it the more: and, therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. But Mary replied, that she was, perhaps, better versed in controversy than he thought; she had read much, and had attended to the most learned of the reformed preachers; but had never met with any argument which should induce her to leave the faith of her fathers. Wherefore, in place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Le Preau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence which she had to demand.

It was answered, that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God, and the law of the land; and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress; whether none of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour; and lastly, when she was to suffer. To this question the earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation, "To-morrow morning at eight o'clock."

The earls had risen, when the queen inquired what was become of her two secretaries; and, not receiving a satisfactory answer, asked, with much earnestness, whether Nau were dead or alive. Drury replied that he was still in prison. "What!" she exclaimed, "is my life to be taken, and Nau's life spared? I protest before God," putting her hand again on the book, "that Nau is the author of my death. He has brought me to the scaffold, to save his own life. I die in

"the place of Nau. But the truth will soon be known\*."

Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed, her attendants burst into tears and lamentations: but she imposed silence, saying, "This is not a time to weep but to rejoice. In a few hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. My enemies may now say what they please: but the earl of Kent has betrayed the secret, that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions."

After long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly; and before she rose from table, drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them, if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice

\* "Quoy, je mourray, et Nau ne mourra pas! Je proteste," mettant la main sur le livre, "que Nau est cause de ma mort. Nau me faict mourir pour se sauver. Je meurs pour Nau." Jebb, ii. 621. It has been argued, that this solemn asseveration is unworthy of credit, because the same evening she rewarded, as faithful servants, Nau and Curle, by her bequests to them in her will. On the contrary, the contemporary account of her death says, that she marked her sense of Nau's conduct in her will, though in obscure terms, lest the English ministers should observe it, and destroy the instrument. (Ibid. 663.) On a reference to the will itself, this appears to have been the case. Nau is to have his wages, pension, and a large sum of money, but only if he prove that he has fulfilled certain conditions well known to her servants. Goodall, i. 413, 414. She every where makes a distinction between him and Curle, whom she considered as seduced by Nau. But of Curle himself, it is but fair that I relate the testimony given by Henry Clifford, the biographer of the duchess of Feria. "I was present at his death, when a little before calling F. Creswell, and the gentlemen, and men of anie fashion, both English and Scots, he there protested, upon hope of his salvation, of his fidelitie and true loyaltie, ever to the queene his mistresse, both living and dead, against the calumnies and imputations putt in print, the authors being too lightly credulous. And this he spake (myself being a witness) with great asseveration, protesting his innocence even at the last gaspe, as he should answer it before the tribunal of the eternal Judge. This I hold myself bound in conscience to write, for that he desired all the assistants to witness what he affirmed on his death-bed." P. 206.

for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address, she again mentioned her conviction, that Nau was the author of her death.

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France, occupied the first and longer portion\*. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately; and sought for support and consolation in the lecture of the passion of Christ, and of a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest: but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

- Feb. 8. At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar they knelt down and prayed behind her†.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven the doors were thrown open: the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants; and Paulet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred-and-fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent

\* Her letter to her confessor is in Jabb, ii. 303, and Keralio, v. 433. She complains of the cruelty of her enemies in refusing her his aid, and begs of him to pray with her during the night. In that to the king of France, she says, that she dies innocent of any crime against Elizabeth. Jebb, ii. 303, 629.

Conn, in his life of Mary, says, that she now administered the sacrament to herself in virtue of an indult from Pius V. Jebb, ii. 45. This, from her letter to the pontiff, is plainly a mistake.

to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time, Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory; and Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow: they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed; and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers; and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy me! was ever a man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England!" Here his grief impeded his utterance; and Mary replied: "Good Melville, cease to lament: thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn; for thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, report that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward chambers of my thoughts; and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies." Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, farewell," and kissing him, "once again, good Melville, farewell,



"and pray for thy mistress and queen." It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life that she had ever been known to address a person with the pronoun "thou."

Drying up her tears, she turned from Melville, and made her last request, that her servants might be present at her death\*. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy, were I a woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent: when she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary and surgeon, with her maids, Kennedy and Curle.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers; next followed Paulet and Drury, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent; and, lastly, came the Scottish queen with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses, that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen dowager†.

\* The earl of Kent and Beal, in their account sent to the lords of the council, add: "then shee demaunded to speake with her priest which was denyed unto her, the rather for that she came with a superstitious payre of beades and a crucifix." Ellis, 2nd Ser. 111.113.

† It is thus described: Her head dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil of the same, thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta and faced with sables, with a long train, and sleeves hanging to the

Her step was firm, and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty, which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. On her right stood the two earls, on the left the sheriff and Beal the clerk of the council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also clad in black\*. The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect, also, that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, the death of the English queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice. Here she was interrupted by Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peter-

ground. The buttons were of jet in the form of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar à l'italienne.—Her purpoint was of black figured satin, and under it a bodice, unlined on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, a pair of beads from her waist. The executioner claimed all these articles as his right, but was compelled to surrender them for a sum of money. This account of her dress is taken from Jebb, ii. 307. 640. and R W.'s narrative in the preface to Hearne's Camden, cxvi. compared with a MS. copy.

\* i gerton, 8.

borough, who having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives, of zeal contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer. He told her that his mistress, though compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her soul; that she had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of that church, in which if she remained, she must be damned; that she might yet find mercy before God, if she would repent of her wickedness, acknowledge the justice of her punishment, and profess her gratitude for the favours which she had received from Elizabeth. Mary repeatedly desired him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted: she turned aside. He made the circuit of the scaffold, and again addressed her in front. An end was put to this extraordinary scene by the earl of Shrewsbury, who ordered him to pray. His prayer was the echo of his sermon: but Mary heard him not. She was employed at the time in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, passages from the book of psalms\*; and, after the dean was reduced to silence, a prayer in French, in which she begged of God to pardon her sins, declared that she forgave her enemies, and protested that she was innocent of ever consenting in wish or deed to the death of her English sister†. She then prayed in English for

\* These passages were from psalms 31. 51. 91, as they are numbered in the reformed bibles.

† Her protestation was as follows: "Permettez-moy, mon Dieu, que, pour ma justification, je dye encores, sans vous offencer, et informe en peu de parolles, tous ceulx en presence desquelz je vous rends mon esprit, le reste du Royaume, et toute la Chrestiente, de la protestation que je faictz, qui est que je n'ai oncques consenty, voullu, conspiré, ny en aulcune sorte donné conseil, ny aide, en toutes les conspirations de mort, pour lesquelles je suis ici si faulcement accusée, et si inhumainement traictée." She then acknowledges that she had sought to procure her liberty by every means in her power, "sans néantmoins offencer votre majesté divine, et l'estat de ce royaume, et si j'aye eu aultre intention en cest endroit, je luy supplie, que mon ame soit perpetuellement privée de la participation de votre miserecorde et grace, et du fruit qu'elle espere et attend de la mort et passion de votre tres cher fils." Egerton, quarto, 111. This prayer is in the account sent to the French court. I do

Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for queen Elizabeth, and in conclusion, holding up the crucifix, exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart."

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing the loss of their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated; but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company. Her servants, at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings: but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself again. Kennedy taking from her a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes: the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless; and at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed, that the features could not be recognized. He cried as usual, "God save queen Elizabeth."

not observe it mentioned in any other. But in England, perhaps, it would have been dangerous to do so.

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough.

"So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent.

Not a voice was heard to cry amen. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity\*.

Before the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had balanced between the fear of infamy and the gratification of revenge. The blow had now been struck; her revenge was gratified; and it became her object to escape the infamy, under the shelter of pretended ignorance. The reader will recollect that Davison, instead of despatching the warrant immediately after it had been signed, retained it till the following morning. Of this he had apprized the queen, but she was careful not to iterate the order: she even suffered six days to elapse without any mention of the warrant to Davison. Early on the next morning the lord Talbot arrived with the official intelligence. Burghley communicated it to his colleagues of the privy council,—joyful tidings to men who during so many years had thirsted in vain for the death of the queen of Scots; but he proposed that, instead of imparting the fact to Elizabeth then, time should be

\* We have several interesting accounts of the execution of the Scottish queen by eye-witnesses; one, the official despatch, by the earl of Shrewsbury in Robertson, (ii. App. xviii.) a second by R. W. for Lord Burghley, frequently published, a third still more circumstantial by a servant of the Scottish queen in Jebb (ii. 641, 642), a fourth by L'Aubespine in a letter to the king of France (Bethune MSS. 8908. fol. 7), and a fifth containing her prayer already mentioned. The body was embalmed the same day in the presence of Paulet and the sheriff by a physician from Stamford, and the surgeon of the village. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till the first of August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Catherine queen of Henry VIII. The servants of Mary had during all this time been confined close prisoners at Fotheringhay. They were now dismissed; and the natives of France repaired to London on their way to their own country, but were detained there during a fortnight, that Nau, who was sent before them, might have leisure, as was supposed, to tell the tale suggested by the secretary in the French court. After Mary's body had rested twenty-five years at Peterborough, it was transferred to Westminster by order of James, Oct. 11, 1612. See Jebb, ii. 641, 649—661. Hearne's Camden, clxx.—clxxv Egerton, 131.

allowed to open it to her cautiously and by degrees. To this singular proposal—so singular that it provoked a suspicion of collusion between the hoary statesman and his mistress—the lords consented. Elizabeth took her usual airing, and after her return entertained herself in the company of Don Antonio, the pretender to the crown of Portugal. By noon the report was spread through the city; the bells announced the joyful intelligence, and numerous bonfires illuminated the darkness of the night. That evening one of the queen's ladies mentioned before her, as it were casually, the death of Mary Stuart. Elizabeth maintained an air of perfect indifference, but in the morning sent for Hatton, expressed the most violent indignation, and indulged in threats of the most fearful vengeance against men who had abused her confidence and usurped her authority, by putting the queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent. Hatton acquainted his colleagues of the council with the queen's threats. They sent for Davison, and advised him to keep out of her sight till her wrath should have subsided. Had they not already conspired to make him their scape-goat? He repaired to his own house, under pretence of indisposition, but on the Tuesday he was committed to the Tower\*, Feb. 14. and on Wednesday Elizabeth, sending for Roger, groom of the chamber to the French king, desired him to assure his sovereign of her regret for the death of the Scottish queen, of her ignorance of the despatch of the warrant,

\* Lord Buckhurst presented a memorial to the queen. He maintained that the committal of Davison would give rise to reports that the queen of Scots was in reality murdered; that the lords of the council would be thought murderers; that "the whole proceedings, even from the first to the last, would be measured by the end, and esteemed no better than an unlawful course tending unto murder;" that "the contempt and error of the secretary would not be believed, or, if it were, would not make the danger less;" that the council, "having this warrant, under her hand and seal, shown to them, were bound in duty and allegiance even with all speed to cause the same to be executed;" and that "the fact of the secretary, though it could not be excused, yet, as the cause stood, without dangerous inconveniences it might not be punished." In MS. life of George, second earl of Shrewsbury, p. 199.

and of her resolution to punish the presumption of her ministers. To account for so late a communication it was reported that the council had concealed the death of Mary from the queen, who first learned that event from a casual conversation with a lady of the court\*.

Elizabeth now attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats. She suspended the obnoxious ministers from their offices, and ordered them to answer in the star-chamber for their contempt of her authority. But her anger was gradually appeased. In all humility they acknowledged their offence, pleaded the loyalty of their intentions, and submitted to her pleasure. One after another, all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour†. He had earned this distinction by his constant reluctance to unite with his colleagues in their persecution of Mary. He had declined to subscribe "the association," even at the request of the queen; he had eluded the task of ex-

\* See a very interesting letter from L'Aubespine to Henry III., dated Feb. 27, N. S. in Egerton, 7—9, and Camden, 539. The queen repeats the same assertion in a letter to Frederic II. king of Denmark, which was received in Copenhagen on the 23rd of March. "*Hoc diploma secretario jecidam nostro custodiendum dedimus, graviter interdicentes ne cuiquam id enunciat, aut quicquam in ea re nobis non prius consultis ageret. Quod tunc prorsus negligens (habita cum consiliariis nostris nonnullis consultatione) præcipiti festinatione, nobis insciis, executioni mandavit, qui tamen nunc ita se excusant, se esse veritos ne nimiam nostram clementiam nobis ipsis exitium acceleraremus. . . . Ita præter nostram voluntatem, hujus secretarii temeritate regina illa (quanquam, quod negari non potest, nocentissima) nobis, Deum testamur, nihil tale suspicantibus, morti tradita est. Secretarium tamen illum, propter manifestum mandati nostri contemptum, in Turrim conjecimus, ut ad amussim tam inexpectati nobis facti rationem reddat.*" 263. Yet Lord Willoughby, in a letter to the same prince, of the 4th of March, had attributed the death of Mary to the express command of the queen: "*Non est novum, potentissime rex, quod autem mensem regina clementissima. a sanguine tantum abhorrens, ut justam regis sumat vindictam, victa tamen omnium Angliæ ordinum atque universitatis civium suorum et subditorum precibus assiduâ, eam jussit exequendam sententiam, quam regni proceres tulerant, et tota gens nostra comprobât, contra nocentissimam reginam.*" New Danish Magazine, p. 267.

† We have several letters from Burghley to Elizabeth, during his temporary disgrace. Instead of vindicating himself, he submits to her will, and seeks to pacify her with texts of Scripture. In March he was called to the council to deliberate on the affairs of Holland; and the queen took the opportunity to charge him with his offence. Her violence was such that he hastened home, and wrote to her a most humble and desponding letter. See Strype, iii. 3 l. App. 144—146.

aming Babington and his associates in the Tower; he was absent, though named in the commission, from the trial at Fotheringay; nor did he afterwards, as the other absent commissioners had done, sign the condemnation of the Scottish queen. To add to his demerits, in answer to the questions put to him in prison, he did not imitate the humility of his colleagues, but in defending himself, charged the queen indirectly with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Paulet\*. In court, however, he acted with more reserve than prudence. To the invectives of the crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation, to contend with his sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject; that they did him injustice by reading garbled passages from his answer: let them read the whole, or rather let them read none, for it contained secrets not fit for the public ear: he would only say, that he had acted under the persuasion that he was obeying the queen's commands, and for the rest would throw himself on her mercy. He was condemned in a fine of ten thousand pounds or marks, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property; and the queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore

\* 1<sup>o</sup>. In his examination to the question, Did not her majesty give it in commandment to you to keep the warrant secret, and not utter it to any one? he answers, that she gave it to him without any such commandment, which he affirmeth as in the presence of God. 2<sup>o</sup>. Did she command you to pass it to the great seal?—He answers affirmatively, and mentions such circumstances as he trusts will bring that commandment to her recollection. 3<sup>o</sup>. Did she not, after it had passed the seal, command you, on your life, not to let it go out of your hand?—In answer he protesteth before God that he neither remembereth, nor received any such command. 4<sup>o</sup>. Did she ever command you to deliver it to any body?—As she did not expressly command him to deliver it, so did he never understand her meaning to be other than to have it proceeded in. 5<sup>o</sup>. Did she not six or seven days afterwards tell you she had a better way to proceed therein?—He replies, "On the receipt of a letter from Mr. Paulet, upon such cause as *she best knoweth*, she uttered such a speech as that 'she could have matters otherwise done,' the particulars whereof I leave to her best remembrance." Strype, iii. 375.



him to favour. She was deaf to his repeated petitions to be admitted into her presence. Even the young earl of Essex, in the zenith of his influence, prayed for Davison in vain\*. Perhaps she deemed him unworthy of pardon because he would not plead guilty; perhaps she thought by this severity to convince the world that she did not dissemble; certainly she effected one important object: she closed the mouth of her prisoner, whom the spirit of resentment or the hope of vindicating his innocence might have urged to the secret history of the proceedings against Mary, and reveal the unworthy artifices and guilty designs of his sovereign. He himself appears to have attributed the queen's severity to the unfriendly offices of Burghley, who looked upon him as a rival in the way of his own son Robert†.

Mar. 8. It may appear surprising, but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears; he talked of nothing but vengeance; the people shared the resentment of the king, and the estates offered to risk their lives and fortunes in the national quarrel. Robert Carey, son to lord Hunsdon, who arrived with a letter from Elizabeth, would have fallen a victim to the fury of the Scots, had not James sent him a guard for his protection‡. The queen in her letter assured the young monarch that the death of Mary was not owing to her§; that the ministers, who ordered it without her knowledge, should be severely punished;

\* Cabala, 229—232. Camden, 540—545. On this occasion Henry of France remarks to his ambassador, that, after all the queen's pretences of anger against the counsellors, who, as she asserts, deceived her, Davison alone has been punished; and even his punishment "n'a point été si rigoureuse, qu'elle puisse faire changer ce que l'on a creu de l'exécution de mort de ladite dame Roïne." Egerton, 127.

† Nicholas' Davison. App. G. ‡ Carey's Memoirs, 13.

§ The queen's letter was dated Feb. 14: "I beseeche you that as God and many moe knowe how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me, that yf I had bid (directed) ought, I owid have bid by yt (would abide by it). I am not so base minded that feare of any living creature or prince should make me afraide to do that were just, or don to denye the same. I am not of so base a linage, nor cary so vile a minde. But, as not to disguise, fits not a kinge, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cawse them shewe even as I ment them." The particulars he was to learn from the bearer. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 23.

that she would be to him in the place of his mother, whose condemnation should prove no prejudice to his rights and expectations. Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown; let him not forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess who alone could remove him from it; nor rely on the uncertain friendship of the foreign powers, who, while they pretended to seek his honour, sought in reality nothing but their own interest. His indignation gradually evaporated: the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence; and his mouth was sealed with a present of 4000*l* \*. Still the affront had sunk deep into the hearts of the Scots; and, at the conclusion of the parliament, the members besought the king on their knees to revenge the death of his mother. He replied that he felt as they did: that he was equally desirous of satisfaction, but that he must previously consult the princes his allies.—Elizabeth had little to fear from him single-handed: but she reinforced her army on the marches, scattered gold with a liberal hand among the Scottish nobility, and, to alarm the monarch, sending for Arabella Stuart to court, exhibited her publicly as her intended successor. The resentment of James again evaporated; and it was thought that in reality he looked on the death of his mother as a personal benefit. It had relieved him from his fear of a rival for the Scottish throne †.

The revenge of Henry III. was equally harmless. A sense of honour had compelled him to forewarn Elizabeth that he should consider the execution of a queen

\* Ellis, 2 ser. iii. 124.

† Camden, 439. 446—450. Courcelles' despatches, Cotton MSS. Cal. i. ix. 233. Strype, iii. 377. Ellis, iii. 23. Egerton, 130. 1. Arabella was only twelve years old. "Voyez la bien," said the queen to madame de Chasteauneuf, "elle sera quelque jour toute faicte comme moi, et sera une maitresse dame. Mais j'auray, esté devant elle—Elle est fille de tres bel esprit, qui parle Latin, Italien, et Francois fort bien." Egerton, 132.

dowager of France as an insult offered to the French crown. But, amidst the civil wars in which he was engaged, he was in no condition to execute this menace; nor could he, indeed, view with dissatisfaction an event which detracted something from the importance of the man whom he most hated, the duke of Guise. Now that the head of Mary had fallen, it became the object of the two powers to renew their former relations of amity. The chief obstacle arose from the pretended conspiracy to murder the queen, attributed to the French ambassador Elizabeth was the first to yield.

May 19. She assured L'Aubespine that she never gave any credit to the report; that she had always thought highly of his honour and integrity; and that his late behaviour had raised him still more in her esteem. After his audience with the queen, he was addressed, in presence of the whole court, by each of the ministers in rotation. Beginning with the earl of Leicester, they assured him of their respect and friendship; of their sorrow for the late charge, of which they acknowledged him to be innocent; and of their desire that all cause of dissension might be buried in oblivion. With this farce (for so the ambassador calls it) ended the quarrel between the two crowns\*; and the death of Mary was left unre-

\* See a most interesting despatch from L'Aubespine, in Egerton, f. 9, 10. After a public apology to the ambassador, Elizabeth took him by the hand and led him into a corner of the room, where she told him that since their last interview the greatest of all calamities had befallen her in the death of the queen of Scots. Of that death she swore, with abundance of oaths, that she was innocent. She had determined never to execute the warrant, except in case of invasion or rebellion. Four of her council—they were then in the room—had played her a trick, which she should never forget. They had grown old in her service, and had acted from the best of motives, or by G— they should have lost their heads. But that which troubled her most was the displeasure of the king of France, whom she honoured above all men; whose interest she preferred to her own; and whom she was ready to supply with men, money, ships, and German mercenaries, against his enemies. L'Aubespine had previously resolved to make no remark on the death of Mary: but he took occasion of the last words, to express a wish, that the queen would show her esteem of his master by her deeds. To send men and ammunition to those who were in arms against him, to hire Germans to fight their battles, to capture French ships, and to treat a

venge by those whom it chiefly concerned—her son the king of Scotland and her brother-in-law the king of France.

French ambassador for four months as she had treated him, were not convincing proofs of friendship and esteem. She replied, that she had done nothing against Henry, but had aided the king of Navarre against the duke of Guise. He asked whether to do even that without the consent of Henry, were not to do in a foreign realm what she would suffer no foreign prince to do in hers? He has not mentioned her answer, but adds that she talked incessantly for three hours. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER V.

**Maritime and piratical expeditions—Hawkins—Drake—Cavendish—Discontent of the Hollanders—Loss of Sluys—Return of Leicester—Hatton made chancellor—Preparations of Philip—Of Elizabeth—The armada sails from Lisbon—Enters the Channel—Is dispersed—And compelled to return by the north of Scotland—Magnanimity of Philip—Elizabeth visits the army at Tilbury—Leicester dies—His character.**

THAT spirit of commercial enterprise, which had been awakened under Mary, seemed to pervade and animate every description of men during the reign of Elizabeth. For the extension of trade, and the discovery of unknown lands, associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned; and the prospect of immense profit, which, though always anticipated, was seldom realized, seduced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums, in these hazardous undertakings. The agents of the Russia company laboured to penetrate through Muscovy and Persia, into Cathai; the Turkey merchants purchased and imported the productions of the Levant; English mariners explored, sometimes the coasts of Africa, sometimes those of America; and repeated attempts were made, in opposite directions, to force a passage to the East Indies, through the icebergs which crown the northern limits of the old and the new continents. The adventurers brought wealth and honour to their country. But among them there were many who, at a distance from home, and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses; whose rapacity despised the rights of nations, and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their

skill, and hardihood, and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins\*.

The renowned sir John Hawkins first acquired celebrity by opening the trade in slaves. He made three 1562. voyages to the coast of Africa; bartered articles of trifling value for numerous lots of negroes; crossed the 1564. Atlantic to Hispaniola, and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit; and during his third voyage in the bay of St. Juan d'Ulloa, Hawkins was 1567 surprised by the arrival of the Spanish viceroy with a fleet of twelve sail from Europe. The hostile squadrons viewed each other with jealousy and distrust; a doubtful truce was terminated by a general engagement; and in the end, though the Spaniards suffered severely, Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command, two only escaped; and of these one foundered at sea, the other, called the *Judith*, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. The reader will perhaps be surprised when he understands that the two largest vessels out of the six engaged in this inhuman traffic, belonged to the queen†.

\* Hakluyt, *passim*. Stowe, 681. 684. 729. Camden, 243. 306. 332. 360. 449. Anderson, i. 420. Harris, i. 524—526. 575—583.

† Camden, 158. Stowe, 507. After this Hawkins paid two more predatory visits to the Spanish settlements, and on his return sent his friend George Fitzwilliams to Madrid, with an offer of his services to the Spanish monarch. His sincerity was doubtful; but he tendered hostages for his fidelity; and on the 10th of August, 1571, an agreement was concluded and signed by the duke of Feria on the one part, and the messenger on the other, stating that, in order to restore the ancient religion, to put an end to the tyranny of Elizabeth, and to promote the right of Mary Stuart to the throne, Hawkins should bring with him into the service of Spain 16 ships, the names of which were specified, carrying 420 guns and 1585 men and that Philip should grant to him and his an amnesty for past offences, and pay to him monthly 16,987 ducats for the charges of the fleet. The secret of this singular transaction was not so carefully kept that something did not transpire; Hawkins was summoned and examined by order of the council; but his exculpation was such that the lords were, or pre-

In an age of religious fanaticism, it is not unusual to find habits of piety united with the indulgence of the most lawless passions. Drake attributed his late disaster to the perfidy of the viceroy. He thirsted for revenge; a naval chaplain was consulted; and the enlightened casuist determined, that the loss which he had suffered from a Spanish commander, might be justly repaired by the plunder of Spanish subjects in any part of the globe. The conscience of the adventurer was satisfied: he made three predatory voyages to the West Indies; and if the two first were unsuccessful, May 24. the last amply indemnified him for his previous disappointments. In the gulf of Mexico he captured more than one hundred small vessels; he took and plundered July 28. Nombre de Dios; made an expedition by land in the company of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, and of a band of French adventurers; and intercepted a convoy Mar. 29. of mules laden with gold and silver. This treasure satisfied his rapacity: to secure it, he hastened back to Oct. 1. England, pretending that he had obtained it by way of barter from the natives\*.

During his last expedition, from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus of Darien, Drake had, for the first time, descried the great Pacific ocean: and in a 1573. transport of enthusiasm, falling on his knees, he called Feb. 11. God to witness, that if life were granted him, he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea, hitherto unknown to his countrymen. In England he was not unmindful of his vow. Walsingham, Hatton, and some of the other counsellors, applauded and aided his efforts; and Elizabeth herself staked a sum of one thousand crowns on the issue of the expedition. With five ships 1577. and one hundred and sixty men he crossed the Atlantic Nov. 15. to the coast of Brazil; passed the straits of Magellan, and reached the small port of Santiago on the Spanish

tended to be satisfied, and engaged him in the queen's service. The particulars are in Gonzalez, *Memorias*, vii. 351. 360. 4. 7. 8.

\* Camden, 352. Gonzalez, *Mem.* 373. 385.

main. No resistance had been prepared, where no 1578.  
 enemy had hitherto been known. From Santiago to Dec.  
 Lima, the towns on the coast, and the vessels in the 5.  
 harbours, were taken and plundered. His last and 1579.  
 richest capture was made at sea; the *Cacafuego*, a Mar.  
 Spanish trader of considerable value. But the alarm 1.  
 was now raised: a squadron had been stationed at the  
 straits to intercept his return; and Drake took the bold  
 resolution of stretching across the Pacific ocean to the  
 Moluccas. Thence, after many dangers and adventures,  
 doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to Ply- 1580.  
 mouth in safety, after an absence of almost three years. Nov  
 His arrival was celebrated as a triumph. He came in- 3.  
 deed stained with bloodshed and rapine; but in the  
 estimation of the people these blots were effaced by the  
 glory of the enterprise; and England hailed with joy  
 the return of her adventurous son, the first of mortals  
 who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe\*.

Though Drake had sailed with five ships, he returned  
 with only one, the *Golden Hind*: but it was laden with  
 treasure to the amount of 800,000*l*. Of this sum, one  
 tenth was distributed among the officers and crew; a  
 portion was given up to the Spanish ambassador, who  
 claimed the whole in the name of his sovereign; and  
 the rest, of which no account was ever received, was be-  
 lieved to have been shared among the queen, the com-  
 mander, and the royal favourites. Four months, how-  
 ever, elapsed before she would give to Drake any public  
 testimony of her approbation. His ship had been placed  
 in the dock at Deptford, that it might be preserved as a  
 memorial of his daring adventure. Elizabeth conde- 1581.  
 scended to partake of a banquet which he gave in the April  
 cabin; and before her departure, conferred on him the 4.  
 honour of knighthood†.

\* The glory of having practically demonstrated the orbicular form of the earth belonged to Majellhaen; but that navigator was prevented from completing his circumnavigation of the globe by his death in the Philippine isles.

† Camden, 354—360. Stowe, 687. Harris, i, 19.



When Philip complained of these depredations, they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the queen's enemies, and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions. But if the plea of retaliation is to be admitted at all, we must seek out the original aggressor: and impartiality will compel us to lay the blame on the unjustifiable conduct of the English adventurers. At length, however, Elizabeth, as the ally of Holland, engaged in open war with Philip; the lawless pirate was immediately converted into an officer acting under the royal commission; and the skill and intrepidity of Drake were successfully employed in legitimate hostilities for the service of his sovereign. With a  
 1585 fleet of twenty-one sail he directed his course to the  
 Sept. West Indies, burnt the town of St. Jago, plundered  
 14. those of St. Domingo and Carthagená, and razed two Spanish forts on the coast of Florida\*.

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had dissipated one half of his property,  
 1586. sold the remainder, built or purchased three small  
 July vessels, and sailed in quest of adventures to the Spanish  
 21. main. The inhabitants were upon their guard; and for several months his exploits were confined to the capture of a few coasting vessels, and the conflagration of two or three villages. But just before his return, his good  
 1587. fortune led him into the course of the Santa Anna, a  
 Nov. merchantman from the Manillas. The Spaniards repelled every attempt to board, but at last the sinking  
 4. state of their ship compelled them to yield. The gold and silver, and more valuable commodities, were transferred from the prize to the English vessels; the other merchandise, amounting to 500 tons, was consumed with the earrack; and the adventurer immediately re-

\* In this expedition he lost 700 men by sickness, and brought back to England the survivors of a colony, which sir Walter Raleigh had sent out to Virginia. These colonists, on their return, introduced the custom of smoking tobacco. Camd. 449. Harris i. 815.

turned by the Moluccas, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope. Like Drake, he had made the circuit of the globe; but like him he added little to the stock of general knowledge. The object of both was to enrich themselves at the expense of the Spaniards. This they effected: the improvement of science was beyond their abilities, or beneath their notice \*.

These maritime expeditions might irritate the Spanish monarch: they contributed nothing towards the great object of the war. The subjugation or independence of the Netherlands was to be decided on the spot; and there Philip had little to dread, as long as the conduct of the hostile army was intrusted to the presumption and incapacity of Leicester. On his return to England in November, the earl had resumed his wonted ascendancy over the heart of the queen: instead of punishment, he met with reward; and, as if she sought to atone for the pain which she had given, she made him lord steward of her household, and chief justice in eyre south of the Trent. But during his absence, dissension and faction introduced themselves into the army in Holland. If many approved, many also condemned, the execution of the Scottish queen. Elizabeth was branded as the murderess of the rightful heir to the crown; and emissaries were artfully employed to debauch the fidelity of the soldiers. Among the officers was sir Roland York, a soldier of fortune and captain of a fort near Zutphen, who, for some former offence, dreaded the secret resentment of Leicester. This man took the opportunity to insinuate to sir William Stanley, governor of Daventer, that he, as the friend of Babington, and advocate of Mary, was an object of suspicion to the council, and was destined to suffer, at a convenient time, a similar fate. Stanley caught the alarm: he assembled the garrison, and declared that his conscience forbade him to fight in the cause of rebels against their

\* Stowe, 719. Camden, 552. Harris, i. 24. He afterwards undertook a similar voyage in 1591, and perished at sea.

sovereign ; that Daventer belonged to the king of Spain ; and that it was the duty of every honest man to restore to the right owner that property which had been unjustly acquired. They applauded his harangue. Both Daventer and the fort were surrendered ; and Stanley and York, with 1300 men, passed over to the service of Philip \*

This unexpected event spread terror and consternation throughout Belgium. The states assembled ; and, as if the queen's lieutenant was no longer in existence, appointed Maurice, son to the late prince of Orange, stadtholder and captain-general in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. But they soon had reason to repent of their precipitation. Leicester, by his religious cant, and his affectation of sanctity, had, during his residence in the Netherlands, formed a strong party among the reformed clergy. He frequented their sermons ; he prayed and fasted in their company ; he frequently received the sacrament ; and on every occasion avowed a determination to extirpate popery, and to establish the gospel. They spread the shield of their influence over their absent disciple ; and from their pulpits inveighed with bitterness against the ingratitude and the injustice of the states. Many towns disowned the authority of Maurice ; the clergy of Friesland proclaimed Elizabeth their sovereign ; and the synod of Sneek, in an address to the English ambassador, conjured the queen to hasten

\* Camden, 552. In justification of Stanley, a letter was published by Dr. Allen. I have not been able to procure it : but another apology by Persons may be seen in that writer's 'Manifestation.' He observes that Daventer had been surprised, against the will of the inhabitants by sir Wm. Stanley, who was sworn to keep it for the states, and with the garrison received pay from the states ; that both Stanley and Leicester were enemies to sir John Norris, who succeeded to the command on the departure of Leicester ; and that on this account the latter left with Stanley a written license to quit the service at any moment he might think proper. Hence Persons contended that Stanley was no deserter, because he had the license to depart ; that he was no traitor to Elizabeth, because he was in the pay of the states, and held the town for them ; and that he was guilty of no injustice, because the town was the property of the king of Spain, and, as he had been instrumental in taking it from the right owner, he was bound in conscience to restore it to him. Persons, *Manifestation*, p 43—46.

to the assistance of Christ, who put himself and his children under her protection. Elizabeth felt the affront offered to her favourite as offered to herself; and the lord Buckhurst was despatched to signify her displeasure. By his exertions harmony was restored. The appointment of the new stadtholder was declared to have been only provisional; Maurice expressed his readiness to resign the office whenever it should be required; and the fury of the people was appeased by a promise that Leicester should immediately return\*.

The English queen, however, had a more important object in view. She had rashly, though reluctantly, plunged into the contest with Philip; she now sought to extricate herself from it with honour. Two foreign merchants, Grafigna, a Genoese in London, and De Loo, a Flamand in Antwerp, had been employed as representatives of the commercial interests in the two countries, to solicit, the one from Elizabeth, the other from Farnese, the restoration of peace. Both received favourable answers: through them a correspondence was opened between Burghley and sir James Croft, on the part of England, and Perrenotte and Richardot on that of Spain; and complimentary letters, expressive of the most pacific sentiments, were interchanged between Elizabeth and the duke†. In the council the lord treasurer supported the views of his sovereign: but Leicester and his friends urged the continuation of the war. They foretold that, while the queen was deluded with a pretended negociation, the Spanish squadrons would slip from their ports, unite in one numerous armament, and pour a foreign army on the English shores; and they wrought so powerfully on the fears and feelings of Elizabeth, that Drake was despatched from Plymouth to watch the harbours of Spain, and to oppose, if it were attempted, the junction of the Spanish fleet. But that officer had no intention to confine himself to the letter

\* Brandt, 409. Bentivoglio, ii. 99. Cabala, part ii. l. 63.

† See their contents in Strada, l. ix. anno 1587.

April of his instructions. He hastened to Cadiz, bore fear-  
 19. lessly into the harbour, dispersed by his superior fire the Spanish galleys, and sunk, or burnt, or captured, or destroyed, no fewer than eighty sail, partly ships of war, partly merchantmen, either recently arrived from the East, or equipped to proceed to the West Indies. From Cadiz, the conquerors returned by the coast of Portugal: in the waters of the Tagus they insulted the marquess of Santa Crux, the admiral of Spain; and at sea their labours were rewarded by the capture of the *St. Philip*, a carack of the largest dimensions, and laden with much valuable merchandise\*.

The victorious admiral was received with gratitude by all but his sovereign. Elizabeth trembled, lest so great a loss should awaken in the breast of Philip the desire of revenge, rather than of peace; and in answer to a letter from Farnese, who had offered to appoint negotiators, and left the place of meeting to the choice of the queen, she assured him that Drake had been sent out for the sole purpose of opposing any attempt at invasion; that orders had been forwarded to him to abstain from every act of hostility; and that, as he had disobeyed her commands, he should suffer for his presumption on his return. Farnese affected to be satisfied, but prepared to play a similar game. To Elizabeth he replied, that he could believe anything of a man who had been bred a pirate, and who at Cadiz had acted in the usual line of his profession; that he was still willing to abide by his former offer; and that it depended on the queen alone to put an end to the horrors of war†. But, while she was thus amused by his proposals, while she feared that a second act of hostility might extinguish every hope of pacification, the duke silently arranged his plans, and gave instructions to his officers. On a sudden, Sluys, a fort of the first conse-

May  
 29. quence, garrisoned partly by Englishmen and partly by Hollanders, was besieged; and the number and discipline of the enemy, the abilities and good fortune of their leader, taught the states to tremble for its safety. They made the most

\* Drake's letter is in Strype, iii. 451. Stowe, 709. † Strada, l. ix. anno. 1558.

pressing instances to the queen ; her favourite assailed her with arguments and entreaties : still she hesitated ; she wrote to Farnese to withdraw his forces ; nor was it till she had received a refusal that she gave her consent to the departure of Leicester. He took with him a large sum of money, and a reinforcement of 5000 men : but he was hampered with instructions which he could not, or would not, understand ; he was ordered to sound, in the first instance, the disposition of the Hollanders ; and, if he found them averse from peace, to declare that the queen would retire from the contest, unless they could advance 100,000*l.* for the payment of a more numerous army. The earl arrived, assembled his forces, and made three unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege. Sluys capitulated ; and the royal message was delivered. The states received it with reproaches and complaints ; and, in the transport of their indignation, indulged in the most unjust and alarming suspicions. They had been, they said, betrayed by placing confidence in the professions of their allies. Avarice had induced their pretended friend, the queen of England, to sell them to the king of Spain, and to stipulate the surrender of the places garrisoned by her troops, in return for a sum of money sufficient to defray the past expenses of the war. These charges, though unfounded and improbable, were circulated and believed ; and the earl, from having been the idol, became in a few days the execration, of the people.

June  
28.July  
30.

From the conflicting assertions of Leicester and his opponents it is difficult to form a correct notion of his proceedings. *They* charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty of the provinces : they asserted, that with this view he had sought to place English governors in every fortress ; had attempted to seize the persons of Barnevelt, his chief adversary, and of prince Maurice, his most formidable rival ; and had arranged a plot to seize for himself the city of Leyden, which was preserved to the states only by the timidity and flight of the conspirators\*. Leicester, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the ingratitude of the Hollanders ; accused the most ardent among the patriots of corrup-

\* Camden, 555. Brandt, 414.

tion and treason; and pretended that a secret design existed of betraying the Netherlands into the hands of Philip. However these things may be, his influence with Elizabeth, though supported by that of his son-in-law, the young earl of Essex, was apparently gone. She believed that he had neglected her instructions, and sought chiefly his own aggrandizement; and when Farnese complained that the queen had no real desire of peace, she laid the blame, first on the negligence, and

Nov. then on the ambition of Leicester. He was recalled;  
 21. and on his arrival, aware of his danger, threw himself at her feet, and conjured her to have pity on her former favourite. "She had sent him to the Netherlands with "honour; would she receive him back in disgrace? "She had raised him from the dust; would she now "bury him alive?" Elizabeth relented: but the result of the interview was not revealed till the following morning. The earl had received a summons to answer before the council. He obeyed: but, instead of kneeling at the foot of the table, took his accustomed seat; and when the secretary began to read the charges which had been prepared, he arose, inveighed against the baseness and perfidy of his calumniators, and appealed from the prejudices of his equals to the equity of his sovereign. The members gazed on each other; the secretary passed to the ordinary business of the day; and the lord Buckhurst, the accuser, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Such a punishment was evidently unjust. But he submitted without a murmur; and so rigorously did he observe the royal order that, although his confinement lasted till the death of Leicester, he never admitted, during nine months, either his wife or children into his company\*.

About the same time, the death of Bromley, lord chancellor, enabled the queen to satisfy the ambition of another of her favourites. Since the reformation that high office had

\* Besides the historians of the period, consult the original letters in the Hardwicke papers, i. 334—360. It would appear that Leicester had much to say in his own defence, but that the advocates of peace had obtained the ascendancy while the earl was absent in Holland, and Walsingham was confined to his house by sickness.

been confined to lawyers; she now resolved to break through the custom, and to bestow it on the earl of Rutland. But Rutland died within a few days, and, to the surprise and ridicule of the courtiers, sir Christopher Hatton was appointed chancellor. It had happened, many years before, that the students in the inns of court gave a magnificent ball in honour of the queen. Among the maskers her eye distinguished one who in stature, agility and manner, excelled all his companions. The fortunate dancer was Hatton, a young gentleman of slender fortune, from Northamptonshire. She bade him reside at court, and made him a gentleman of the privy chamber. Years passed before he was raised to any higher office, but these situations gave him frequent access to the queen, and it soon became manifest that he enjoyed a considerable portion of the royal favour. Niggard as the queen usually was to the most deserving of her servants, she seldom suffered a long interval to pass without making to Hatton some valuable grant in lands or rents; and it was observed that at her annual new-years' gifts she constantly assigned to him a much more valuable present than to any other individual\*. These marks of favour excited jealousy and suspicion; occasionally she could not forbear from lavishing caresses on him in the presence of others; frequently she spent several hours at a time with him in private. The tongue of scandal was not idle; and it became the general belief that he occupied that place in her affection which had formerly been assigned to the earl of Leicester†. In 1572 she gave to him a fresh mark of her confidence by appointing him captain of the guard; the next year, on account of some dangerous internal disease, he was advised to drink the waters at the Spa; and the queen ordered Julio, her own physician, to attend him during his journey. He parted from her with manifest reluctance, perhaps through apprehension that during his absence he might be supplanted by some fortunate rival. She wrote to him a consolatory note the next day, and

1573.  
June  
3.

\* It was customary for the courtiers to make some valuable present to the queen on the first day of the year. To each, in return, she sent a certain quantity of gilt plate. The average quantity was from forty to fifty ounces; but to Hatton, and to Hatton alone, four hundred ounces were always assigned. Nicholas, p. 8.

† See Dyer's letter to Hatton, in Davison's poetical rhapsody, p. lxxiii. and Nicholas' Hatton, p. 16.



his answers to that and to several other letters from her are still extant,—answers written in a most extraordinary style, and breathing the passionate language of a favoured and presumptuous lover\*. At the Spa his health improved rapidly ;

Sept. he returned, and resumed his former situation at court. In 1577 the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood, appointed him vice-chamberlain, and gave to him a seat in the privy council,—honour not incompatible with the duties which his other offices required. After this period, we learn little of him but from the occasional entries in his letter-book, from which it seems fair to infer that when he was at court the queen spent much time in his company, conversing with him confidentially on all manner of subjects, whether the gossip of the day or matters of the gravest moment ; and often employing him as a sort of amanuensis, to notify her pleasure to different individuals. This was to him, occasionally, a source of great annoyance ; for he was sometimes compelled by her order to suspend or alter the decisions of the council ; sometimes to reprehend the ministers or ambassadors for their conduct ; and once, at least, perhaps oftener, to interfere with the regular proceedings in courts of justice. Enjoying, however, such opportunities of influencing the sovereign, he could not be surprised at finding himself beset with hosts of suitors, soliciting his aid and patronage ; and though there cannot be a doubt that he was a party with his colleagues, Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham, to many questionable and unjustifiable proceedings, yet to his honour it must be recorded that we find him, at times, employing his authority to shield the poor and friendless from oppression, and to mitigate the severity of the law in favour of recusants under prosecution for their religion before the ecclesiastical commission.

Among the gallants at court was one who from the first appears to have been an object of jealousy to Hatton,—the young and accomplished Walter Raleigh, the very counterpart of Hatton himself when, about twenty years before, he entered on his fortunate career. In 1582 Raleigh received from the queen some distinguished mark of royal favour. Hatton was offended, and in proof of his displeasure he withdrew sullenly from court, and shut himself up in the country.

\* They are in Nicholas, pp. 22—30.

Thus the gentle tarsel was flown ; where was the falconer's voice to lure him back again ? Elizabeth undertook that office, and performed it successfully, but by a process too mysterious and enigmatical to be readily understood. Messages were exchanged between her and the fugitive, and jewels transmitted for tokens, with the quaintest conceits and nonsensical comments on the "Belwether" and "the Water," the sobriquets of the two rivals\*. Hatton very wisely suffered himself to be persuaded, and resumed his former offices at court ; but in 1585 he was seized with a second fit of jealousy, and the same game was played over again, with a similar result. Still, "Water" continued to encroach on the domain of the "Belwether." In 1580 Raleigh was made captain of the guard, the post which Hatton had so long possessed ; lord warden of the Stanneries, and the queen's lieutenant in Cornwall ; but in the next year she put an end to the contest between the two rivals. The elevation of Hatton to the chancellorship placed him at an immeasurable height above Raleigh. It might be to satisfy *his* ambition, perhaps to free *herself* from the constant attendance of an old and querulous servant ; but his possession of the great seal proved a sore disappointment to the lawyers, who seemed to look upon it as the property of their own body ; and we are told that some of them objected to plead before a man who from his habits of life could not be qualified to act as a judge in equity. He was, however, less disqualified than may be supposed. For some years he had constantly attended in the star-chamber, and had often taken a prominent part in the judgments pronounced by that tribunal. In chancery, to supply his deficiency in practical knowledge, he made an order that some

\* Originally the queen gave to Hatton the name of her "Mutton," which was afterwards changed to her "Belwether," probably because he was captain of the guard. Raleigh was called "Water," perhaps from his passion for maritime adventure and voyages of discovery. The queen read Hatton's letter with blushing cheeks, and told Heneage, who had delivered it, that she knew not whether to be angry or pleased ; that if princes were like gods they would suffer no *element* to breed confusion ; that "*pecora campi*" were so dear to her she would never permit "Water" or floods to overwhelm them ; and to the end that her "Belwether" might not fear drowning, she would send to him for a token the bird (a dove) from which Noah learned that the "waters had abated from the face of the earth." In conclusion, Heneage informed Hatton that, after all, "Water" had been much more welcome than was fit for the season, but he hoped that it would make neither himself nor his friend wet-shod. Hatton's tokens to the queen were a "bucket" to bale out the water, and a bodkin. See the letter of Nicholas, p. 277.

of the masters should always sit with him, and in important and intricate cases was careful to seek the advice of men of acknowledged learning and integrity. We hear no complaints of the manner in which he administered justice ; he has been commended for the splendour which he threw round his office of chief magistrate\*.

We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries, which the queen had almost annually offered to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas, and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain ; and the monarch so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference. But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life, to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment\* ; and, if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance. In 1583, after a forbearance of fifteen years, he flattered himself that the day of retribution was come. The duke of Anjou had been driven out of the Netherlands ; France trembled on the verge of a civil war ; and the defeat of his rival don Antonio, with the reduction of Tercera, had secured on his head the crown of Portugal. Freed from other foes, he turned his attention to the English queen : but he was by nature slow and cautious ; to arrange his plans, to make his preparations, demanded leisure and consideration ; and five more years were suffered to elapse, before the armada, designed to subjugate the English nation, was

\* Splendidissime omnium quos vidimus, gessit. Camden, 558.

† See Philopat. Augustæ, 1592, pp. 68—83. Osborn's Memoirs, 13.

ready to sail from the ports of Spain. During this interval the conduct of Elizabeth had not been calculated to avert his resentment. She had sent to the relief of the Belgian insurgents an English army under a general who assumed the title and authority of governor of the revolted provinces; and after a trial, unprecedented in the annals of Europe, she had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots. The first was equivalent to a declaration of war, which Philip could not refuse to notice without the imputation of cowardice; the second was an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge.

Of all men, the Spanish king should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV.; and by his general the duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace, in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V., the reigning pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt, which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England. For this purpose he demanded an aid in money, the renewal of the censures promulgated against Elizabeth by former pontiffs, and a grant of the purple for Dr. Allen, who, in the event of success, might proceed as legate to England, regulate the concerns of religion as had been done by cardinal Pole, and confer on the conqueror the investiture of the kingdom\*. Allen, ignorant of the project, was at the Spa, for the benefit of his health: under some other pretext, he was drawn to Rome; and, though he declined the dignity, as he had before declined it under Gregory XIII., he was, against his will, created cardinal by the title of St. Martin in Montibus. But though Sixtus kept the secret locked up within his own breast, the motive of Allen's promotion was suspected by the politicians at the papal court; and the pontiff, apprehensive of the discovery, exhorted Philip to hasten the expedition, offering him a subsidy

1587  
Aug.  
7.  
N. S.  
Nov.  
1.

\* The despatch is among the records at Simancas.

of a million of crowns, to be paid as soon as the invading army had landed on the coast of England\*.

The preparations of that monarch both in Spain and the Netherlands were proportionate to the importance of the undertaking. Never had the ocean borne a more gallant fleet than that which now rode in the harbours of Spain. One hundred and thirty-five sail of men of war, carrying eight thousand seamen, and nineteen thousand soldiers, obeyed the command of the marquess of Santa Crux, an officer, who had grown grey in the naval service, and whose brow was shaded with the laurels of numerous victories†. In Flanders, the forest of Waes had been felled; the dockyards of Antwerp, Newport, Gravelines, and Dunkirk, swarmed with artificers; and the rivers and canals were covered with flat-bottomed boats, destined to serve as transports in the projected invasion. The reputation of Farnese, and the danger but glory of the attempt, had drawn volunteers from many of the most noble families in Europe: on every road were met bodies of soldiers hastening from Spain, and Germany, and Italy, to the place of rendezvous; and when the duke of Parma had mustered his forces, and allotted to the count Mansfeldt eleven thousand men in addition to the ordinary garrisons for the defence of the country, he had still at his disposal thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred cavalry, to be employed in the invasion of England‡.

It was impossible that these preparations could escape the notice of the English government: but Philip circulated different reports to cover their real destination.

\* Fitzherbert, Vita Alani, 87. Strada l. ix. anno 1588. Maffei, Hist. ab excessu Gregor. XIII. p. 25.

† The vessels composing this fleet were of four kinds: 1<sup>o</sup>. the ordinary ship of war, formed after the chiule or keel of the ancient northern nations: 2<sup>o</sup>. the galley, which employed the aid of oars, and carried cannon on the prow and the stern: 3<sup>o</sup>. the galeasse, one-third larger and broader than the galley, with the addition of cannon on each side, between every bench of oars: 4<sup>o</sup>. the galleon, or large chiule, being the ordinary ship of war extended in length, with cannon on each flank, and powerful batteries on the prow and stern. See Strada, l. ix. anno 1558.

‡ Strada, ibid. Hardwicke papers, i. 354. Camden, 563.

Elizabeth was plunged in the most cruel uncertainty, where the storm would ultimately burst, whether on *her* head, or on the insurgents of Belgium. It was necessary that she should be on her guard: but parsimony inclined her to distrust both the advice of her ministers, and the warnings of their spies; and she alternately quickened or retarded her preparations, as hope or fear preponderated in her mind. She easily consented that a military council for the defence of the kingdom should be established; that all the male population from the age of eighteen to that of sixty, should be enrolled; and that the lords lieutenant should be instructed to form companies of militia, to appoint officers, and to provide arms at the expense of the counties. But to call these men into active service would entail a great expense on the crown. She still cherished a hope of avoiding the contest: and, if at last two armies were ordered to assemble, one of thirty-six thousand men, under lord Hunsdon, for the defence of the royal person, and another of thirty thousand, under the earl of Leicester, for the protection of the capital, these measures were so long delayed, that the first existed nowhere but upon paper; the second never reached to more than one half of the specified number\*. It was, however, of small moment. Such raw and hasty levies could have opposed but a feeble resistance to the numerous and disciplined force under the duke of Parma†.

\* The orders for the army under Leicester were issued in June. In what manner it was to be composed, may be seen in Murdin, 611. It was to consist of twenty-seven thousand infantry, four hundred and seven lancers, two thousand and eleven light horse, and eighteen pieces of artillery. Yet on the 10th of August it did not exceed fifteen thousand foot, with their complement of horse. Stowe, 743. Ellis, 2 ser. iii. 142. Nor was it possible to procure arms for a greater number. Molino's report to the senate of Venice. MS. Greystoke Castle. Now, if the armada had not been dispersed by the fireships and the storm, the attempt to land would have been made on the 30th or 31st of July. As for lord Hunsdon's army, none except the men from London and Middlesex, received orders to assemble before the 6th of August. Murdin, 612, 613. Of this Leicester complained, on July 27th. God had given the queen forces and power; yet she would not use them when she ought. Hardwicke papers, i. 576.

† See in a note in the Hardwicke papers, i. 575, the opinion which sir John Smyth, an old soldier, who was employed to train the new levies, had

England was destined to be saved by the skill and intrepidity of her navy.

In the last autumn, a sense of danger had extorted from the queen a warrant for the levy of five thousand seamen: in January she repented of her prodigality, and ordered two thousand to be dismissed. As, however, the rumour of invasion assumed a more authenticated shape, she yielded to the entreaties of her council: the original number was again filled up; it was even raised to seven thousand men\*. The royal navy consisted of thirty-four men of war, of which five measured from eight to eleven hundred tons: the city of London furnished thirty-three, and private individuals eighteen sail; and to these, in such an emergency, were added forty-three hired ships, and fifty-three coasters. The chief command was assumed, in virtue of his office, by lord Howard of Effingham, admiral of England, whose resolution and intrepidity were universally acknowledged, and whose want of naval experience was supplied by a council of able seamen. Under him served as volunteers, the earl of Cumberland, and the lords Henry Seymour, Thomas Howard, and Edmund Sheffield: Drake was appointed lieutenant of the fleet; and the best ships were given to Hawkins, Forbisher, and other mariners, who, in voyages of commerce, or piracy, or discovery, had acquired experience, and displayed that contempt of danger, and that spirit of enterprise, which had long been characteristic of the British sailor†.

The only neighbouring powers to whom the queen could apply for assistance, were the states of Belgium, and the king of Scots. The independence of the former, was owing to her protection: their ruin must be the inevitable consequence of her subjugation. Interest and gratitude taught them to obey the call. They for-

formed of this army. He wrote a work on military discipline, which, on account of some such passages, was suppressed. Strype, iv. 47.

\* The treasurer's accounts, in Murdin, 620.

† See the statement of the fleet in Murdin, 615—618.

got all recent causes of offence, undertook to shut up the navigation of the Scheldt, and sent to the fleet a squadron of twenty sail. From the king of Scotland she dared not hope for active assistance: but to secure his neutrality was an object of immense importance. James appeared to waver: a Spanish party had been formed among his subjects; the addition of a Spanish army and of Spanish treasure would have roused him from his inactivity, and have made him the avenger of the blood of his mother. Such a measure was urged in the council of Philip\*: but he distrusted the fidelity of the Scottish king, whose policy it was, not to commit himself with either party till he should see the probable event of the contest. If, to please his protestant subjects, he subscribed the covenant, and put down the attempt of the lord Maxwell on the borders; yet, at the same time, he listened with coldness to the apology offered by lord Hunsdon for the death of Mary; put forth his own claims with a tone of authority; and held the English cabinet in suspense, till he had extorted the most magnificent promises from Ashby, the resident ambassador. Then, indeed, he forbade his subjects to aid the enemy, and offered to Elizabeth the whole force of his kingdom: but this was at a time when the armada had been already defeated, and the Spaniards were fleeing before their pursuers along the shores of Scotland†.

\* This advice was given by Plato, a celebrated engineer: and Leicester informs us, "that James had instruments about him, labouring to have men sent him." Murdin, 592. Again he observes: "Scotland is altogether neglected, from which all our mischief is to come, where the employment of two thousand men by the enemy, with some portion of treasure, may more annoy us than thirty thousand landed in this realm." Hardwicke papers, i. 360.

† That James remained in suspense to the last, is evident from the dates. In the autumn lord Hunsdon wrote to the queen, "that if she looked for any amity or kindness at his hands, she would find herself deceived." Murdin, 591. In April, Hunsdon received instructions to satisfy him for his mother's death; in June, Mr. Ashby was sent to him: in July, sir Robert Sydney went on a similar mission. Cecil's Diary. Murdin, 787, 788. They did not succeed. For on the 27th of July, Walsingham wrote to Douglas, the Scottish envoy, to give the same advice to his master. At last, on the 4th of August, James accepted the proposal of Ashby;



But there was within the realm a class of men, whose doubtful loyalty created more alarm in the cabinet than the procrastination of the Scottish, or the enmity of the Spanish monarch. The real number of the English catholics was unknown: (for the severity of the penal laws had taught many to conceal their religion :) but it was loosely conjectured that they amounted to at least one-half of the population of the kingdom\*. Hitherto they had been the victims of a relentless persecution: was there not reason to expect that they would receive the Spaniards as deliverers? The queen had been deprived of all right to the throne by the head of their church: would they not avail themselves of that sentence to wrest from her hands the sceptre of iron with which she had ruled them? Under the influence of these fears some of her advisers, as if the massacre of St. Bartholomew had furnished a useful precedent, suggested the putting to death of the leading men in the catholic body: and, had they not been saved by the humanity of the queen herself, the chief of that party, the most distinguished by birth and property, would have been sacrificed to the jealousy of their adversaries: but Elizabeth rejected the barbarous advice; and, as no trace of any disloyal project could be discovered, refused to dip her hands in innocent blood†. Still the loyalty of the catholics was subjected to the severest trials. Under the plea of precaution all recusants convicted were

Jan. 4. placed in custody; a return “of persons, suspected for

that he should join the queen, and receive in return a dukedom, with lands, an annuity of 5000*l.*, and entertainment for a guard of 150 men. *Ibid.* 783. Rymer, xvi. 18.

\* Dr. Allen was positive that they amounted to two-thirds. *Apud* Bridgewater, 374. The same was asserted in a paper found upon Creighton. *Strype*, iii. 415.

† *Ad securitatem capita pontificiorum, quesitis causis, demetenda. Illa hoc ut crudele consilium aversata.* *Camd.* 566. Therefore they were not traitors then, or Elizabeth would not have thought the advice inhuman: but they were to be put to death then, that they might not become traitors afterwards. Her ministers would not have been at any loss for prettexts—*quesitis causis.* They were adepts in the art of getting up counterfeit plots.

"religion," was required from the magistrates of the capital\*; in several counties, perhaps in all, domiciliary searches were made; crowds of catholics of both sexes, and of every rank, were dragged to the common jails throughout the kingdom†; and the clergy from their pulpits declaimed with vehemence against the tyranny of the pope and the treachery of the papists‡. But no provocation could urge them to any act of imprudence. They displayed no less patriotism than their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependents in the service of the queen: some of the gentlemen equipped vessels, and gave the command to protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy§.

The reader will be surprised to learn that, in the midst of these preparations and alarms, both Elizabeth and Philip were employed, and that too with apparent earnestness, in negotiating a peace. The queen still clung to the hope of extricating herself from the danger of invasion. It was in vain that Leicester and Walsingham represented the attempt as calculated to paralyze

\* They amounted to 17,083. Murdin, 605. Mr. Hallam supposes this to be the number of persons able to bear arms: but the latter are stated in the next page to amount to 30,000.

† The reader may form some notion of the manner in which such searches were made, from the papers in Lodge, ii. 371—376, and the Loseley MSS. p. 293.

‡ The lords lieutenants were ordered "to inquire into the number, quality, and ability of the recusants; to commit to prison the most obstinate; and others of value, but not so obstinate, to the custody of ecclesiastical persons, or gentlemen well-affected, to be supported at their own charge, and kept from intelligence one with another." 4 Dec. 1587. MS. Life of Shrews. 204.

§ Stowe, 746. Harleian Miscel. ii. 64. "Not one man appeared to favour the Spaniard: the very papists themselves being no less unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to the ordinary cruelty found in strangers." Osborn, 28. The ministers themselves, in the account which they published in almost all the European languages, under the title of "A letter to Mendoza," remark that no difference could be observed, on this occasion, between the protestants and the catholics; mention with particular praise the viscount Montague, who, with his son and grandson, presented himself before the queen at the head of 200 horse, that he had raised for the defence of her person; and inform us that the prisoners for religion in Ely signed a declaration of their readiness to fight till death in her cause against all her enemies, were they kings, or priests, or pope, or any other potentate whatsoever. Ibid. 15. 17. 46.

the efforts of her subjects, and to give courage to her enemies\*: supported by the opinion of Burghley, she named as commissioners the earl of Derby, lord Cobham, sir James Croft, and Dale and Rogers, doctors of civil law. They landed at Ostend, and after some preliminary forms met at Bourbourg near Calais, the Spanish commissioners, the count of Aremberg, Perenotte, Richardot, De Mas and Garnier. The English opened the

Feb. 28. conferences with the demand of an armistice: it was granted by the Spaniards, but only for the four cautionary towns possessed by the queen in the Netherlands. They then brought forward three propositions; that the ancient league between England and the house of Burgundy should be renewed; that Philip should withdraw his foreign troops from the Low Countries, and that freedom of worship should be allowed to all the inhabitants for the space of at least two years. It was replied that to the renewal of the league the king of Spain could have no objection; but that it would be imprudent in him to withdraw his forces as long as England and France continued in arms; and that the queen could not be serious in soliciting liberty of conscience for the protestants of Belgium, as long as she refused it to the catholics of England. The Spanish commissioners then demanded the restoration of the towns mortgaged to Elizabeth by the states: their opponents required, in return, the repayment of the money which she had advanced. Neither would yield: expedients were suggested and refused; and the conferences continued till the armada had arrived in the mouth of the Channel. It was the general opinion that each party negotiated for the sole purpose of overreaching the other: but, if we

\* Walsingham was "very unquiet in mind about the peace." Lodge, ii. 353, 356. He declared that "all men of judgment must see that the negotiation would work the queen's ruin." Hardwicke papers, i. 357—359. From him we learn that Stafford, the ambassador in France, was in disgrace, because he had sent word that Philip did not deal sincerely in the negotiation: "so much," he adds, "do we mislike any thing that may hinder the treaty." Ibid.

may believe the private letters of the ministers, Elizabeth anxiously sought the restoration of peace\*.

During five years procrastination had marked the counsels of Philip: on a sudden his caution was exchanged for temerity. The marquess of Santa Crux had objected the danger of navigating a narrow and tempestuous sea without the possession of a single harbour capable of sheltering the fleet: the duke of Parma had solicited permission to reduce the port of Flushing previously to the departure of the expedition; and sir William Stanley had advised the occupation of Ireland, as a measure necessary to secure the conquest of England. But the king would admit of no delay. He had understood from the pontiff that, on his part, every thing was ready; that the money had been collected, the bull of deposition signed, and the appointment of the legate made out; but that he was resolved not to commit himself by any public act, till he should be assured that the Spanish forces had obtained a footing in England†. Philip immediately issued peremptory orders to the admiral that he should put to sea without further delay; to Farnese that he should hold the army in readiness to embark on the first appearance of the fleet near the coast of Flanders. But Santa Crux was already dead, Jan the victim of his anxiety to satisfy the impatience of his 31

\* For the particulars of the negotiation compare Camden (561. 571.) with Strada (l. ix. anno 1587), who contradict each other on one point, the powers of the Spanish commissioners.

† Several writers, among others Spondanus, iii. 29, assert that Allen repaired to Flanders, to accompany the army to England. It is, however, certain that he remained in Rome. *Alacum noluit Roma dimittere pontifex, priusquam de belli successu constaret.* Epist. ad Pernium, 110. Olivares never ceased to solicit the bull till he had obtained it: *solecitato instancabilmente dall' Olivares.* Tempesti, *Vita e Geste de Sixto Quinto*, ii. 80: where may be seen the speech of the pontiff, when he proposed it to the cardinals. The papal diploma was translated into English, and printed in the Low Countries, that it might be published on the arrival of the Spanish army. Its contents may be seen in Spondanus, iii. 29, Foulis, 350, and Mr. Butler's *Memoirs*, iii. 210. In addition was composed and printed at Antwerp, under the title of "An admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland," a libellous tract, detailing all the crimes which her enemies imputed to the queen, and calling upon the reader to unite with the Spaniards in punishing so infamous a personage. To it Allen was induced to put his signature. See an account of it in note (L).

- sovereign; and his place was inadequately supplied by  
 Mar. the duke of Medina Sidonia, who, like the lord admiral  
 3. of England, was totally unacquainted with the naval  
 May service. Under this new leader the armada sailed from  
 20. the Tagus. The grandeur of the spectacle excited the  
 most flattering anticipations; and every breast beat high  
 with the hope of conquest and glory. In a few days the  
 delusion was dispelled. Off Cape Finisterre the south-  
 erly breeze was exchanged for a storm from the west.  
 June the armada was dispersed along the shores of Galicia;  
 9. three galleys ran aground on the coast of France, eight  
 were dismantled, and no ship escaped without consider-  
 able damage. To collect and repair his shattered fleet  
 detained the duke three weeks in the harbour of Co-  
 runna\*.

- This disaster had been announced to Elizabeth as the  
 destruction of the armada, the end of the expedition.  
 If she received the intelligence with joy, she did not for-  
 get her usual economy; and the lord admiral received  
 an order to dismantle immediately the four largest ships  
 July in the royal navy†. Fortunately he ventured to disobey,  
 8. offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune;  
 and directed his course across the bay of Biscay, to as-  
 12. certain the real state of the Spanish fleet. But a brisk  
 gale from the south-west compelled him to return: the  
 enemy took advantage of the same wind to leave Co-  
 runna; and the English had scarcely moored their ships  
 in the harbour of Plymouth, when the duke of Medina  
 19. was discovered off the Lizard point. Here he sum-

\* The sailing of the Spanish fleet excited some fears in the minds of the commissioners who had superintended the execution of the queen of Scots. On June 26th four of them wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, to add his signature to a petition to the queen, that the commission might be enrolled in chancery, "as it importeth your lordship and us all, yours and our posterities, that were any doers in the case, to have it enrolled, to be able to shew sufficient warrant for our discharge." H. Kent. A. Paulet. Tho. Andrews. Ro. Beale.

† These were the *Triumph* of 1100 tons, carrying 340 sailors, 120 soldiers, and 40 gunners; the *White-bear*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and the *Victory*, of 1000, 900, and 800 tons, with a complement of 260 sailors, 100 soldiers, and 40 gunners to each. Murdin, 615. 619. 621.

moned the more experienced among his captains to a council of war. They unanimously advised a bold but decisive measure, to bear down on the English fleet, and to attack it while it lay at anchor: but the admiral produced his instructions, which strictly forbade him to provoke hostilities till he had seen the army of Flanders safely landed on the English shore\*. They obeyed with reluctance: the armada formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder, and with a gentle breeze from the south-west proudly advanced up the Channel. It was a magnificent and imposing spectacle. The magnitude of the ships, the unusual construction of the galleasses, their lofty prows and turrets, and their slow and majestic motion, struck the beholders with admiration and awe. The lord admiral had already formed his plan. His vessels, though inferior in bulk and weight of metal, excelled those of the enemy in agility and expedition. To oppose might be dangerous: but he could follow, could annoy from a distance, and might retard their progress by attacking the more sluggish sailers and cutting off the stragglers. Two hours did not elapse before he exchanged a brisk cannonade with Ricaldez, the commander of the rear division, and compelled the duke to detach several ships to his support.

In this action neither fleet suffered any considerable loss: but during the night one of the largest galleons was set on fire by the resentment of a Flemish gunner, who had been reproached by his captain with cowardice or treachery: a second, which had lost a mast by accident, fell astern and was captured, after a sharp engagement; and a third, which had separated from the fleet in the dark, met with a similar fate near the coast of France. These disasters proved lessons of caution to the Spanish admiral. His progress became more slow and laborious: the enemy was daring, and the weather

\* Strad. l. x. anno 1588. Strype, iv. 236.

capricious ; some of his ships were disabled by successive engagements ; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast ; and the necessity of protecting both from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination, and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais.

July  
27.

By this time the Spaniards had learned to respect the courage and power of their enemy : to the English the advantages which they had won, though trifling in themselves, imparted that tone of confidence which is often the forerunner of victory. Still the great measure on which depended the fate of England, the transportation of the invading army, remained in suspense. The duke of Parma had completed his preparations ; and, with the aid of canals cut through the country, had conveyed his transports to Newport and Dunkirk. In the first of these harbours a division of 14,000 men had already embarked ; in Dunkirk the other division, almost equal in number, awaited only the orders of the general\* ; and it was expected that on the next day, the second after the arrival of the duke of Medina, the grand attempt would be made. That very night (it was cloudy and boisterous) the sea on a sudden was illuminated by the appearance of eight vessels in flames, drifting rapidly in the direction of the armada. A loud cry of horror burst from the Spaniards, who remembered the blazing boats at the siege of Antwerp, and the destruction which those engines of explosion had scattered on every side. Immediately they cut their cables, ran out to sea, and in their terror and confusion inflicted on each other much greater damage than they had suffered in some of the preceding actions. The fire-ships burnt away harmlessly on the edge of the beach ; but, at the moment when the duke congratulated himself on his fortunate escape, a fierce gale began to blow from the south-west ;

\* Camden represents him as unprepared (577) ; the contrary is evident from his despatches to Philip, quoted by Strada, l. x. anno 1588.

the rain fell in torrents; the glare of the lightning confounded the mariners; and the dawn of morning discovered the armada dispersed along the coast from Ostend to Calais. In a short time a cannonade in the direction of Gravelines collected the adverse fleets. The Spaniards, with forty sail, bravely sustained the attack of their enemy during the day: in the evening the increasing violence of the wind carried them among the shallows and sand-banks near the mouths of the Scheldt. The following morning, with the aid of a favourable breeze, they extricated themselves from danger: but they had lost two galleons, of which one was sunk, the other taken by the Hollanders, and a galeasse of Naples, which had run aground under the batteries of Calais\*.

The Spanish admiral took the opportunity to consult the most experienced among his officers. His fleet was now reduced to about eighty sail, all of which had suffered considerably: to attempt the transportation of the army, or to return through the Channel, was to throw themselves into the jaws of destruction; and all agreed that but one way remained open, round the north of Scotland and Ireland; a way indeed replete with danger and terror to men unacquainted with the coast, and unused to the tempestuous seas of so high a latitude; but which offered some hope of preserving for their sovereign the shattered remnant of his once formidable navy. For the first time the Spaniards fairly fled before their pursuers; and the want of ammunition compelled the English to return to port, at a time when they might otherwise have annihilated the invaders. The fugitives in their northern course met with no enemy; but they had to contend against the violence of the winds and waves; the shores of Scotland and Ireland were covered with the wrecks of their vessels; and, when the duke of Medina termi-

July  
30.

8.

\* With the narratives of our national historians should be compared that by Strada, who had the advantage of consulting the papers of the duke of Parma. See Camden, 571—579. Stowe, 746—759. Strype, iii. App. 266. Strada, l. ix. anno 1588.



Sept. nated his unfortunate voyage in the port of St. Ander, he acknowledged the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and of ten thousand men\*. Christoval de Mora, after some contest with his colleagues, undertook to announce the disastrous intelligence to the king. Philip, who had acquired the perfect mastery over his feelings, heard him without any change of countenance, any symptom of emotion. "I thank God," he coolly replied, "who has given me so many resources, that I can bear without inconvenience so heavy a loss. One branch has been lopt off: but the tree is still flourishing, and able to supply its place." Immediately he sent the sum of fifty thousand crowns to be distributed among the survivors; forbade by proclamation any public mourning; and openly returned thanks to God that his fleet had not been entirely destroyed. The Spaniards consoled themselves by attributing their loss to the violence of the weather: the duke of Parma was assured in the strongest terms of the royal favour and approbation; and a fruitless attempt by the English ministers to debauch his fidelity, served only to raise him higher in the estimation of the monarch†.

During this important crisis, the queen displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. She appeared

\* According to the lists in the letter to Mendoza, there perished, or were taken, before the English fleet returned from the pursuit, fifteen sail, carrying 4791 men; and afterwards on the coast of Ireland seventeen sail, with 5394 men. Strype, iii. App. 223.

† It was first reported, that Philip was displeased with the negligence, and jealous of the ambition, of the duke; then, that in one of the captured vessels had been found an order to the duke of Medina, to arrest Farnese, as soon as he should come on shipboard, and to send him a prisoner to Spain. This second rumour was traced to the family of the English ambassador in Paris. By the time it could reach the duke in Flanders, Fiesque, a Genoese merchant, presented to him a letter without signature, and, being questioned who was the writer, replied, Pallavicini, the queen's banker in London. This letter advised Farnese to beware of the resentment and suspicion of Philip; to send a confidential friend to Boulogne, where he would be met by an agent from England; and to recollect that he might acquire much more in Flanders, than he could ever expect to receive from the gratitude of Spain. The duke understood the hint: that the queen wished him to take possession for himself of the catholic provinces, and leave the protestant provinces to the house of Orange. But his fidelity was proof against temptation; he imprisoned the agent, and sent a copy of the letter to Philip. Strada, l. x. anno 1558.

confident of success: she even talked of meeting the invaders, and of animating her troops to battle by her presence. But this proposal was disapproved by the prudence, or the affection of Leicester. "As for your person," he wrote to her, "being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, I cannot, most dear queen, consent that you should expose it to danger. For upon your well doing consists all the safety of your whole kingdom: and therefore pre-serve *that* above all. Yet will I not, that in some sort so princely and rare a magnanimity should not appear to your people and to the world, as it is. And thus far, if it please your majesty, you may do: to draw yourself to your house at Havering; and to comfort this army and the people of these counties, you may, if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the camps and forts. And thus far, but no further, can I consent to adventure your person\*." July 27.

She followed his advice, and about a fortnight later proceeded to Tilbury. It was a proud moment for Elizabeth. The danger was now over: the armada which had threatened to overturn her throne, was struggling with adverse winds on its way to Spain; and the people, intoxicated with joy, expressed the most ardent attachment to her person. Mounted on a white palfrey, and bearing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, she rode along the ranks; the soldiers rent the air with acclamations of triumph; and these raw recruits expressed their regret, that they had not been permitted to measure arms with the veteran forces of Spain†.

The important services of the lord admiral and of his officers were not overlooked by the queen: but, in her estimation, they could not be compared with those of

\* Hardwicke Papers, i. 577.

† I have not noticed the speech, said to have been spoken by her at Tilbury. It might have been prepared for her as an address to the soldiers, if it had been necessary. But she certainly could not exhort them to fight, after the enemy was gone, and when she had resolved to disband the army immediately.

Aug.  
9.

Leicester. He stood without a rival; and to reward his transcendent merit, a new and unprecedented office was created, which would have conferred on him an authority almost equal to that of his sovereign. He was appointed lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; and the warrant lay ready for the royal signature, when the remonstrances of Burghley and Hatton induced her to hesitate; and the unexpected death of the favourite concealed her weakness from the knowledge of the public. Soon after

- Aug. the queen's departure from Tilbury, Leicester had by  
 18. her order disbanded the army, and set out for his castle of Kenilworth; but, at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, his progress was arrested by a violent disease, which, whether it arose from natural causes, or the anguish of disappointed ambition, or from poison administered by  
 Sept. his wife and her supposed paramour, quickly terminated  
 4. his existence\*. If tears are a proof of affection, those shed by the queen on this occasion showed that hers was seated deeply in the heart: but there was another passion as firmly rooted there, the love of money, which induced her, at the same time that she lamented the loss of her favourite, to order the public sale of his goods, for the discharge of certain sums which he owed to the exchequer†.

Leicester in his youth had possessed that external appearance, which was sure to arrest the eye, and warm the heart of Elizabeth. With handsome features and well-proportioned limbs, he joined a tall and portly figure, a qualification necessary for those who aspired to the rank of her favourites. By the spirit of his conversation, the ardour of his flattery, and the expense of

\* See in Wood's *Athenæ* by Bliss, ii. 74, a curious account of his being poisoned by the countess, whose lover Christopher Blount, he had attempted to assassinate.

† Camden 583. Several noblemen wrote to her to console her on this occasion. To the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby she answered that "she can admit no comfort otherwise than by submitting to God's inevitable appointment: the loss of a personage so dear is a most severe stroke to her in particular, but greater in respect of the public." MS. life of Shrewsbury, 279.

his entertainments, he so confirmed the ascendancy, which he had acquired, that for thirty years, though he might occasionally complain of the caprice or infidelity of his mistress, he ultimately triumphed over every competitor. As a statesman or a commander he displayed little ability: but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Many years elapsed before he would resign his pretensions to the hand of his sovereign\*, and we have just seen, that only the week before his death, he prevailed on her to promise him a much larger share of the royal authority, than had ever, in such circumstances, been conferred on a subject. Were we to judge of his moral character from the language of his writings, we should allot to him the praise of distinguished piety†: but if we listen to the report of his contemporaries, the delusion vanishes, and he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. We are told, that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the court of Elizabeth, two only escaped his solicitations; that his first wife was murdered by his order; that he disowned his marriage with the second, for the sake of a more favoured mistress; and that to obtain that mistress he first triumphed over her virtue, and then administered poison to her husband. To these instances has been added a long catalogue of crimes, of treachery to his friends, of assassination of his enemies, and of acts of injustice and extortion towards those who had offended his pride, or refused to bend to his pleasure.

\* The Scottish queen says, that Elizabeth made to him a promise of marriage. (Murdin, 558). The assertion is confirmed by the despatches of the bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, still preserved at Simancas. The bishop, who then appeared to be in favour both with the queen and the council, details the artifices employed by Elizabeth and Leicester to induce him to mention their projected marriage to Philip, and to procure from him an answer in its favour. At length, he informs his sovereign, that they had been actually but secretly contracted to each other in the house of the earl of Pembroke.

† "I never yet," says Naunton, "saw a style or phrase more seemingly religious and fuller of the strains of devotion." *Fragmenta regalia*, in *The Phoenix*, 193. Such of his letters as are still extant, are of this description.

The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports: yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge, which is not supported by probable evidence, there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester. In the year 1584, the history of his life, or rather of his crimes, was published in a tract entitled, at first, "Copy of a letter . . . . . about the present state, and some proceedings of the earl of Leicester, and his friends in England;" but afterwards known by the name of "Leicester's Commonwealth." It was generally attributed to the pen of Persons, the celebrated Jesuit: but, whoever might be the author, he had woven his story with so much art, had descended to such minuteness of detail, and had so confidently appealed to the knowledge of living witnesses for the truth of his assertions, that the book extorted the belief and the applause of its readers\*. Edition after edition was poured into the kingdom, till the queen herself came forward to vindicate the character of her favourite. She pronounced the writer, "an incarnate devil," declared that of her own knowledge (it was a bold expression) she was able to attest the innocence of the earl; and ordered the magistrates to seize and destroy every copy, which could be discovered†. But, if the will of the sovereign could silence the tongues, it did not satisfy the reason, of her subjects. The accomplished sir Philip Sydney took a different course.

\* Mary Stuart, in a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow (May 13, 1586, O. S.), says that Leicester himself attributed the composition of the book to Morgan, the archbishop, and Lord Paget jointly, "de quoi il estoit en une extreme rage contre touz les trois." *Lettres de Marie*, vi. 300. Persons, in his preface to the "Warnword," denies that he was the author.

† Such interposition in favour of a subject may appear extraordinary; but the queen's letter of thanks to lord and lady Shrewsbury, for the attention which they had paid to Leicester at Chatsworth, is still more so. In it she almost acknowledges him for her husband. "We should do him great wronge (houlding him in that place of favor we do) in cace we should not let you undustand in how thankfull sorte we accept the same at both your hands, not as don unto him but to our owne self, reputing him as another ourself," &c. *Lodge* ii. 155.

He attempted a refutation of the libel. But with all his abilities he sunk under the task; he abused the author, but did not disprove the most important of his statements; and the failure alone of so able a scholar and contemporary will justify a suspicion, that there was more of truth in the book, than he was willing to admit, and more of crime in the conduct of his uncle than ~~it~~ **was** in his power to clear away\*.

\* See it in the Sydney Papers, i. 62.

## CHAPTER VI.

**Condemnation of the earl of Arundel—Sufferings of the catholics—Of the puritans—Favour of the earl of Essex—Unfortunate expedition against Spain—Proceedings in France—Succession of Henry IV.—Succours sent to him from England—Execution of Lopez—Capture of Cadiz—Project in favour of a Spanish successor—Another expedition against Spain—Spanish fleet in the Channel—Peace between France and Spain—Dissensions in the cabinet—Execution of Squires—Death of Burghley—Conduct of the king of Scotland,**

THE defeat of the armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings; the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the catholics in prison on account of religion: and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided, or harboured, priests. All these immediately, and fifteen of their companions, within the three next months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion\*.

Not satisfied with the blood of these victims, the per-

\* See vol. 749, 750. Challoner, 209—237. Ellis, 2nd ser. iii. 126 8.

secutors looked forward to one of more exalted rank. The reader will recollect the fine and imprisonment to which the earl of Arundel had been condemned. For a considerable time after his trial he had been treated with unusual severity: by degrees the rigour of his confinement was relaxed; and he obtained permission to frequent the contiguous cell of William Bennet, one of queen Mary's priests; where he occasionally heard mass, and met two fellow-prisoners, sir Thomas Gerard and William Shelley. For this indulgence his countess had given a bribe of thirty pounds to the daughter of the lieutenant: but the result provoked a suspicion that it had been granted with the connivance of some greater personage, who sought the ruin of the noble captive. On the appearance of "the armada," Arundel received a hint, that the moment the Spaniards set their feet on English ground, he and the other catholic prisoners in the Tower would infallibly be massacred. Their danger naturally became the subject of conversation among them: some recommended one expedient, some another; and the earl suggested that they should join in one common form of prayer to solicit the protection of heaven. The proposal was at first adopted, but afterwards abandoned by the advice of Shelley, under the apprehension that it might be misrepresented to the queen. The armada, however, failed; no massacre was attempted; but Shelley, Gerard, and Bennet, were removed to different prisons, where they underwent separate examinations, respecting the language and conduct of Arundel. The answer of the first was harmless: Gerard represented him as a well-wisher to the Spaniards; and Bennet, if we may believe himself, through fear of the rack and the halter, confessed that the earl had asked him to celebrate mass for the success of the invaders\*.

\* On the second examination of the earl, both Gerard and Bennet were introduced; but he was not allowed to speak in their presence, and therefore refused to make answer after they were gone. Burghley put to him the question, "is not every man a traitor who shall say that the pope has power to depose the queen?" By the catholics this question was con-



On these depositions was grounded a charge of high treason: the queen appointed the earl of Derby lord high steward for the trial; and the prisoner was brought to Westminster hall, to plead for his life before that nobleman and twenty-four other peers. The crown lawyers had introduced into the indictment all the matter which had formerly been urged in the star-chamber against him: but the real subject of inquiry lay within a much narrower compass; whether he had or had not solicited others to pray with him for the success of the Spaniards. The principal witnesses were Gerard and Bennet. When the first appeared, the prisoner called on him, in the name of the living God, to speak the truth, and to remember that he must hereafter give a second account before a most awful tribunal. At this solemn adjuration Gerard trembled, muttered a few words and was withdrawn. Against the testimony of Bennet was produced one of his own letters, in which he acknowledged that his confession before the commissioners was false, and had been extorted from his weakness by menaces of torture and death:\* he, on the contrary, to support his credit, asserted that the letter was written by Randal, a fellow-prisoner, and addressed to the earl without his consent or his signature. Randal,

considered as the forerunner of death; because it was devised to cast a doubt on the sincerity of those who denied the deposing power: and there were many, who while they denied that power themselves, yet hesitated to declare those traitors who maintained it. The earl replied: "I never yet heard any man say that he had; when I do, you shall hear what I say." He was told that he must reply, yes or no. "I wonder," he exclaimed, "that such questions are asked of me, seeing I was never accused of such matters; but both have been, and am, at all times, ready to serve the queen, with life and limb, against any foreign prince or potentate whatsoever." Hatton asked, "What, against the pope?" "Is not the pope," said the earl in return, "included in the name of foreign prince or potentate?" The report of his examination was then given to him to read, but he would not sign it, because it stated that he had refused to give any answer to the question; which he declared to be untrue; he had answered it sufficiently to satisfy any reasonable man. In his own account, he says, he knew that he might have answered more clearly in the affirmative, but it was unnecessary, as his death was already determined, and unwise, as his words would, according to custom, have been misrepresented. MS. Life of the earl of Arundel, c. xiii.

\* See this letter in Strype, iii. App. 250.

however, was not examined; and Arundel most solemnly protested that the prayers which he had proposed had no reference to the invasion; he merely sought the protection of heaven for himself and his companions, who had been threatened with assassination. After an hour's debate the peers found him guilty: he heard the judgment pronounced with composure and cheerfulness; and begged, as a last favour, that he might be allowed, before his death, to see his wife and his son, a child about five years old, who had been born since his confinement in the Tower. No answer was returned\*.

It must be acknowledged that the queen had some reason to be jealous of this nobleman. The execution of his father, the wrongs which he had lately suffered himself, and his high rank (he was by birth the first peer of the realm), had pointed him out to the queen of Scots, to Morgan, and to many of the exiles, as the fittest person to be placed at the head of any party which might be formed against the government. But his condemnation was an act of policy, not of justice. No one pretended that he had ever assented to such projects; it was not proved that they were so much as known to him. The charge on which he was tried was certainly unfounded. In his subsequent correspondence with the council, in his confidential letters to his wife and his confessor, he always asserted his innocence, and declared his resolution to maintain it, even on the scaffold. Burghley and Hatton advised the queen to spare him. She had taken the life of his father; let her not stain her reputation with the blood of the son. He had now ceased to be a subject of apprehension; he lay at her mercy; on the slightest provocation, on the first appearance of danger, the sentence might be carried into execution. She suffered herself to be persuaded: yet carefully concealed her intention from the knowledge of the prisoner, who lived for several years under the im-

\* MS. Life, c. xiv. State Trials, 1250—1264. Camd. 595—600.

pression that the axe was still suspended over his head; and never rose in the morning without some apprehension that before night he might expire on the scaffold. In 1595 he was suddenly taken ill at table\*: the skill of his physician checked the rapidity, but could not subdue the force, of his disease; and he died at the end of two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. He was buried in the same grave with his father, in the chapel in the Tower.

In her conduct towards this unfortunate nobleman, the queen betrayed an unaccountable spirit of revenge. He seems to have given some deep but secret offence, which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten. There was a time when he seemed to engross her favour; when he shone the foremost in all her parties, and bore a principal share in the festivities and gallantries of her court. But, from the moment that he returned to the society of his countess, he was marked out for the victim of her displeasure. During the latter part of his long and severe imprisonment, he could not once obtain permission, not even on the approach of death, to see his wife or his children, or any one of his relations, protestant or catholic. Nor did the rancour of the queen expire with its principal object. As long as she lived, lady Arundel was doomed to feel the royal displeasure. She could not remove from her house without danger of offence; she was obliged to solicit permission to visit London even for medical advice; and, whenever Elizabeth meant to repair to St. James's, the countess received an order to quit the capital before the queen's arrival †.

From the defeat of the armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the catholics

\* After eating of some teal. This circumstance provoked a suspicion of poison: while others attributed his disease to his religious austerities. Camden, 706. In 1624 his body was transferred to Arundel: and his son recorded the suspicion in his epitaph. *Non absque veneni suspicione.* MS. Life, xvi. xviii.

† MS. Life of the Countess. See note (M).

groaned under the pressure of incessant prosecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses: by artful and ensnaring questions an avowal was drawn from the prisoner, that he had been reconciled, or had harboured a priest, or had been ordained beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these crimes was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered, on the condition of conformity to the established worship: but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses\*.

\* See the histories of most of them collected in Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, vol. i. There are many letters extant, describing the horror which these executions excited in other nations. Their resolution and manner of death, says Standen, "being set out to the world in print, in sundry languages, hath bred such a hatred against the regiment of the realm in general, as most are scandalized therewith." Hitherto these rigours had been attributed to Leicester and Walsingham: their continuance was ascribed to the counsels of Burghley, who "was now considered by all the catholics in christendom as open, declared, and professed enemy to their faith and religion, never having plucked off his mask till these latter years." Birch, i. 84. 89. Burghley replies: "that though their outward pretence be to be sent from the seminaries, to convert people to their religion, yet, without reconciling them of their obedience to the queen, they never give them absolution. Such in our realm as refuse to come to our churches, and yet do not discover (disown) their obedience to the queen, be taxed with fines according to the law, without danger of their lives. And if Mr. Standen were truly informed of this manner of proceeding, and would judge indifferently thereof, he might change his mind." Birch, i. 94. The first part of the answer is undoubtedly false; the second is an open avowal of persecution. It appears, however, from a paper in his hand-writing, that he wished priests to be hanged only, and "that the manner of drawing and quartering were forborne." Strype, iii. 622. I may add, that there are several contemporary lists of the clergymen who suffered this cruel punishment for the sole exercise of their ministry during the reign of the queen. The first victim was Thomas Woodhouse from Lincolnshire, one of queen Mary's priests, executed as a traitor on June 19th, 1573. (Stowe, 677. *Memoirs*, 384.) He was followed by 123 others; that is, 113 secular priests, eight jesuits, one monk, and one friar. Moreover, thirty men and two women were executed as felons for the crime of harbouring and abetting priests, besides numbers of clergymen and laymen, who died of their sufferings in prison.

These executions, however, affected but a small part of the catholic population: the great grievance consisted in the penalties of recusancy. If we consider the relative value of money, we shall see that it required an ample fortune to pay the perpetual fine of twenty pounds per lunar month. Most gentlemen were compelled to sell a considerable portion of their property, that they might satisfy the demand; and, whenever they were in arrear, the queen was empowered by law to seize the whole of their personal and two-thirds of their real estate every six months\*. For this purpose, returns of the names and of the property of the recusants in each county were repeatedly required by the council; and the best expedient of the sufferers was to prevail on the queen, through the influence of her favourites, to accept an annual composition†. Yet even then they were not allowed to live in quiet. They were still liable to a year's imprisonment and a fine of one hundred marks for every time that they heard mass; on each successive rumour of invasion they were confined, at their own charges, in the jail of the county‡; they were assessed, as often as it appeared proper to the council, in certain sums towards the levy of soldiers for the queen's service; and, on their discharge from prison, they were either confined in the house of a protestant gentleman, or, if they were permitted to return to their homes, were made liable to the forfeiture of their goods, lands, and annuities during life, for the new offence of straying more than five miles from their own doors§. Yet many of these men had signed declarations of loyalty which satisfied the council, and

\* Stat. of Realm, iv. 771.

† These compositions were so unwelcome to Cooper, bishop of Winchester, that he petitioned the council to remove the compounders out of the shire, "to some place where they might do less harm." Strype, iii. 240. 419.

‡ The zeal of Topcliffe, not content with the incarceration of the men, wished the women also to be confined; "seeing far greater is the fury of a woman once resolved to evil, than the rage of a man." His proposal to Burghley is in Strype, iv. 39.

§ Stat. of Realm, iv. 843.

had engaged to fight in defence of their sovereign against any foreign prince, pope, or potentate, whomsoever\*. They were treated in this manner, if we may believe Burghley himself, not so much for their own demerits, as to prove to the queen's enemies abroad, that in the case of invasion they must expect to derive little aid from the more wealthy of the catholic body in England†.

Thus it was with men of property. Recusants in meaner circumstances were at first thrown into prison. But the jails were soon crowded; the counties complained of the expense of their maintenance; and the queen ordered them to be discharged at the discretion of the magistrates. From some nothing more was required than a promise of good behaviour: some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped‡. It was afterwards enacted, that all recusants, not possessing twenty marks a-year, should conform within three months after conviction, or abjure the realm, under the penalty of felony without benefit of clergy, if they were afterwards found at large. But the severity of the act defeated its purpose; and the magistrates contented themselves with occasionally granting commissions to their officers, to visit a certain district, and to levy discretionary sums on the poorest recusants, as a composition for the legal fine§.

\* See some of these oaths in Strype, iii. 191. 564. Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, 193. Strype's *Whitgift*, 277.

† Strype's *Whitgift*, 327. See note (N).

‡ Bridgewater, 375. Strype, iii. 169. The numbers were so great, that at one sessions in Hampshire 400, at the assizes in Lancashire 600 recusants were presented. *Id.* 478. App. 98. Cooper, bishop of Winchester, to get rid of them, presented "a humble petition that one hundred or two lasty men, well able to labour, might by some commission be taken up, and sent into Flanders, as pyoners and labourers for the armys." *Ibid.* 169.

§ Stat. of Realm, iv. 844. I have in my possession a curious manuscript account of the exactions of William Ratcliff, an officer, who, about Christmas, 1583, proceeded through most of the villages in Cleveland, with a commission for this purpose from Carey, Constable, and Rokesby, three magistrates. Felton was another employed for a similar purpose. "Felton hath at lengthe obtayned his long desired sute, viz., 3s. 4d. in the pounde of all that he hath alreadye or shall hereafter entitle her majes-

In addition to these sufferings must be mentioned the domiciliary visits in search of catholic clergymen, which have formerly been described. At first they were events of rare occurrence: but now they were repeated frequently in the year, often on the slightest suspicion, on the arrival of a stranger, on the groundless information of an enemy, a discharged servant, or a discontented tenant; sometimes for the sole purpose of plunder, and sometimes through the hope of reward, as the forfeiture of the estate followed the apprehension of the priest. This, in the memorials of the age, is described as the most intolerable of grievances. It was in vain that the catholic gentleman withdrew himself from the eyes of the public, and sought an asylum in solitude. His house afforded him no security: even in the bosom of his family he passed his time in alarm and solicitude; and was exposed at every moment to the capricious visits of men, whose pride was flattered by the wanton exercise of authority over their betters, or whose fanaticism taught them to believe that they rendered a service to God by insulting and oppressing the idolatrous papist\*.

"tie unto of the landes or goodes of recusantes, which will amounte to £500 "per annum, and this by the mediation of sir John Stanhopp." "Felton "proceedeth with all violence against all sortes of recusantes, and his "courses, be they never so unjuste or unconscionable, ar maintained by "the L. Treasurer, chiefe justice, chiefe baron, and sir John Stanhopp." May 26th, 1602. Private MS. letters.

\* Such at least are the complaints of the sufferers in several manuscript papers in my possession. The searches sometimes comprised a whole district. In 1584 fifty gentlemen's houses were visited on the same night, and almost all the owners dragged to prison. Bridgewater, 299. Cooper proposed that they should take place every three weeks or month. Strype, iii. 240. In Lodge may be seen instances of the injustice which was often committed on such occasions. Sir Godfrey Foljambe apprehended his grandmother, and promised, "by God's helpe to keep her safely" Lodge, ii. 375. The result showed the real object of this godly grandson. When, after a confinement of twenty months, the council ordered lady Foljambe to be restored to liberty, he complied; but still kept "her "living, goods, and chattels," for his own use. Ibid. 372. In the same search, two priests were discovered at Padley, a house belonging to sir Thomas Fitzherbert, and inhabited by his brother. The earl of Shrewsbury, without further ceremony, took possession of the house and demesne of Padley, and, finding there the deeds of another estate, called Foulcliff, kept them, and entered on that property also: "things," says sir Thomas, "greater than my presente poore estate can suffer, or in any wise bear, I

It was observed that among those who gloried in the execution of "these godly laws," none were more distinguished by their violence than the protestant recusants\*. But, if Elizabeth allowed them to display their zeal by tormenting her catholic subjects, she was still watchful that they did not lay their irreverent hands on the book of common prayer, and continued to prohibit the new form of service which they had established for themselves. Their petitions for favour, the suggestions of their friends in the council, the efforts of their brethren in parliament, failed to move her resolution. At last their patience was exhausted. They appealed to the public with all the bitterness of disappointed zeal; and the friends of the establishment were surprised and alarmed by a succession of hostile and popular pamphlets. The titles of these writings were quaint, their language declamatory and scurrilous, their object to bring the hierarchy into discredit and contempt. But the queen threw over the clergy the shield of her protection. She issued a severe proclamation against the authors, publishers, and possessors of seditious libels†, and the court of the star-chamber restrained the exercise of the art of printing to the metropolis and the two universities; to a single press in each of these, and to a certain number in London, with a prohibition to print, sell, bind or stitch any work which had not previously obtained the approbation of the bishop or archbishop‡. Yet, in defiance of these regulations, copies of the more

"payinge her majesty the statute of recusancie, being 240*l.* by yeare, "which is more than all my rents yearlie rise unto." Ibid. 402. See note (S).

\* Some of them were animated with such a hatred of idolatry, as they termed it, that they travelled as far as Rome, to display their zeal. The excesses and answers of these fanatics may be seen in Maffei, *Annali*, ii. 217, 218, 219.

† "On Friday last sir Richard Knightley, Hooles of Coventry, Wigmore and his wife of Warwick, were condemned in the star-chamber, as furtherers of the book called *Martin Mar-prelate*, to pay, the first £2000, the second 1000 marks, the third 500, the fourth 100, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure." Sir H. Lee to lord Shrewsbury, Feb. 17th, 1590.

‡ See the original in Strype's *Whitgift*, app. 94.



obnoxious publications were multiplied and circulated through every part of the kingdom. They issued from an ambulatory press, which was secretly conveyed from house to house, and from county to county. But no ingenuity could long elude the vigilance of the pursuivants. The palladium of the ultra-reformers was discovered, and demolished in the vicinity of Manchester.

- One of these works, entitled "A Demonstration of Discipline," had been traced to the pen of Udal, a puritan minister. He was brought to trial at Croydon.
1591. The jury, on very questionable evidence, found him  
Mar. guilty of the fact; the court, on still more questionable grounds, determined that the book was a libel on the person of the queen, because it inveighed against the government of the church established by her authority. By this decision he was brought within the operation of the statute originally framed against the catholics. But, 1592. though he received judgment of death, intercession was made in his favour by the king of Scots and sir Walter Raleigh; by degrees he recanted most of his opinions unfavourable to the establishment; and his pardon was already made out, when he died in prison, a victim to the anxiety of his own mind, and the severity of his 15. confinement\*.
1591. Cartwright, the leader of the nonconformists, with  
May. nine of his associates, had been summoned before the  
June. ecclesiastical commission, and refused to answer interrogatories upon oath. Such a demand was, he contended, contrary to the law of the land, and to the law of God. In the star-chamber they all persisted in their

\* State Trials, i. 1271. Strype, iv. 21—30. Strype's Whitgift, 375—377. The seditious passages in the indictment were these, "Who can without blushing deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness? . . . the government giveth leave unto a man to be anything save a sound christian. You retain the popish hierarchy first reigning in the 'midst of the mystery of iniquity,' &c. Against him it was maintained, that the bishops were part of the queen's body politic, and therefore, by depraving them, he had depraved her. See several papers respecting his trial and submissions in Strype, iv. 21—30.

refusal. Their obstinacy was punished with imprisonment; but it gave rise to an animated controversy, which, though of no benefit to these individuals, contributed to open the eyes of men to the injustice of administering to prisoners the oath *ex officio*, and thus placing them under the cruel necessity of committing perjury, or of bearing witness against themselves\*.

At this time the resentment of the queen had been stimulated by the ungovernable fanaticism of three members of the communion. Hacket, a person of low birth, and not a very creditable character, had listened to the exhortations of some of the preachers. He soon put on the appearance of superior sanctity, made pretension to supernatural powers, and professed to believe that his body was animated with the soul of John the Baptist. The magistrates of Lincoln vainly endeavoured to convince him of the delusion by a public whipping: from the tail of the cart he hastened to London, to prepare the way of the Lord before his second coming; and to denounce, as the prophet of vengeance, the plagues which would fall on the realm, in consequence of its opposition to a thorough reformation. He was accompanied by Coppinger and Arthington, two gentlemen of slender fortunes, whose enthusiasm led them to believe in the divine mission of Hacket. One morning July, 19. they issued from his lodgings, as the prophets of judgment and mercy, ran through the streets exclaiming, "Repent, England, repent!" and at Charing Cross harangued the people from a waggon. They declared that the reformation was at hand; that Hacket, as the representative of Christ, and clothed in the glorified body of the Messiah, was come with his fan in his hand to separate the wheat from the chaff; that he was king

\* Fuller, 193. Neal, c. viii. Strype's Whitgift, 336. 362. 366. App. 142. In defence of this oath it was urged that, *licet nemo tenetur seipsum prodere, tamen proditus per famam tenetur seipsum ostendere et purgare*. Moreover, that the penance enjoined was, not *per modum poenæ*, sed *medicinæ*. See the judgment of nine doctors of civil law in Strype's Whitgift, App. 137. Camden, 636.

of the world ; that all princes must acknowledge him for their sovereign ; and that the queen would be deprived of her crown for her opposition to the godly work of reformation. The people heard them with astonishment, but without applause. Unable to procure followers, they returned to Hacket ; and all three were apprehended and committed as traitors. Hacket died, venting the most horrid blasphemies ; Coppinger starved himself, or was starved in prison ; Arthington read his recantation and obtained his pardon\*.

At first the extravagance of these fanatics threw considerable odium on the cause of the imprisoned ministers. It was pretended that, if a rising had been effected, men of greater weight would have placed themselves at the head of the insurgents, and have required from the queen the abolition of the prelacy. But no proof could be brought of any such projects ; the visionary schemes of the three prophets were condemned by the more moderate of their brethren ; and the cause of Cartwright and his associates, when the surprise of the public had subsided, was again left to its own merits. After some time, the bishops retired from a contest in which they found themselves abandoned by the majority of the council ; and the prisoners, at the end of eighteen months, were discharged, on a promise of good behaviour†.

1593. Their refusal, however, to take the oath *ex officio*, gave  
Feb. rise to a motion, in the next session of parliament, for a  
27. reform in the practice of the ecclesiastical courts. But the attempt was crushed in its infancy by the despotism of the queen, who, sending that afternoon for the speaker,

\* Stowe, 760. Collier, ii. 627. 630. Camden, 630. 634. Strype, iv. 68. On examination, they all declared that they were moved by the spirit to act as they had done. The two prophets refused to uncover their heads, because they were of higher dignity than the commissioners. Hacket was indicted ; 1<sup>o</sup>. that he said that the queen had forfeited the crown ; 2<sup>o</sup>. that he had thrust a bodkin into that part of her picture which represented her heart. He pleaded guilty on the first, and stood mute on the second. Strype, iv. 68.

† Strype's Whitgift, 370. App. 154.

bade him remind the house that she had the power to call or dissolve the parliament; to assent to, or to dissent from its proceedings; that she had already forbidden them to interfere in subjects above their capacities, matters of state, or causes ecclesiastical; that she wondered at their presumption and disobedience; and therefore commanded them never hereafter to entertain any motion, and him on his allegiance never to read to the house any bill, which might have a reference to such questions. Neither did she content herself with this reprimand. Morrice, the mover of the question, was arrested by a serjeant at arms in his place, was deprived of his office in the court of wards, was disabled from practising as a barrister, and was imprisoned for several years in the castle of Tutbury\*.

By an act in this parliament, the protestant, like the poorer catholic recusant, was made liable to the penalty of banishment, or felony without benefit of clergy, unless he conformed within three months after conviction. But the puritans were by this time divided into two parties. The majority, the disciples of Cartwright and his associates, did not object to some parts of the established service, or to the administration of the sacrament as it was performed in many churches. These, therefore, by occasional and partial attendance, eluded the severity of the law. But there were others, named Brownists, or separatists, who deemed every species of communion with an unchristian church a pollution of their consciences; and, under this conviction, braved<sup>1593.</sup> with obstinacy the threats and power of the queen. To Mar. intimidate them, five of their number were arraigned on<sup>23.</sup> the charge of writing and publishing seditious libels. The plea that the obnoxious passages were directed against the bishops, and not against the queen, was overruled; and, though the publishers were spared, Barrow and Greenwood, the writers, suffered the punishment of death. Penry, a minister, was the next victim.<sup>April 6.</sup>

\* Townshent., 60. D'Ewes, 478. Neal, c. viii.

Among his papers had been discovered a collection of unconnected sentences, said to reflect on the character of the queen; because in them he expressed a suspicion that she supported the cause of the gospel, not through attachment to religion, but with a view to her own interest. He protested that they were nothing more than the heads of a petition which he purposed to compose; and maintained that, as they had never been communicated to any other person, they could not have been a writing in the meaning of the statute. Still the jury found him guilty; and, to prevent any riot at the time of execution, he was suddenly called out after dinner, and hung at St. Thomas Waterings\*.

These executions might awaken the apprehensions, they did not subdue the obstinacy, of the separatists. Many were imprisoned: some were convicted of recusancy; a few were banished. But the queen had now grown old: the king of Scots, her presumptive heir, professed puritanical principles; and the leaders of the orthodox party saw the danger of persisting in a course which might draw upon themselves the vengeance of the next sovereign. The persecution subsided by degrees; and the separatists enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, long before the death of Elizabeth.

From these religious contests, which place in so strong a light the stern intolerant spirit of the age, we may now turn to the foreign wars and domestic intrigues which occupied the attention of the queen till the end of her reign. As soon as the intoxication of joy, excited by the defeat of the armada, had subsided, she began to calculate the expense of the victory, and stood aghast at the enormous amount. A forced loan offered the readiest way of procuring an immediate supply. The merchants of the city were rated according to their supposed ability to pay; privy seals were despatched to the lords

\* Stowe, 765. Strype's Whitgift, 410—415. App. 176. Strype's annals, iv. 176. He was supposed to be the author of Martin Marprelate, and was therefore treated with this barbarity.

lieutenant of the different counties; and every recusant of fortune, every individual suspected for religion, almost every gentleman who possessed not some powerful friend at court, was compelled to advance the sum at which he had been taxed\*. In a short time the convocation and parliament assembled. From the former the queen received a grant of two subsidies of six shillings in the pound; from the latter, of two subsidies of four shillings, and four tenths and fifteenths. With this liberal vote the commons coupled a petition to the throne. As the terror of the Spanish arms was now dispelled, men thought of nothing but revenge and conquest; and the house prayed the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip, by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions†. Elizabeth praised the spirit of her affectionate people: but her exchequer was exhausted; she had no money to advance; she might supply ships of war and a few bands of veteran soldiers, but her subjects must furnish the rest from their own resources. An association was quickly formed, at the head of which appeared the names of Norris and Drake, men who were justly esteemed the first in the military and naval service; and under their auspices an armament of nearly two hundred sail, carrying twenty-one thousand men, was collected in the harbour of Plymouth.

1589  
Mar.  
8.

The reader will recollect that Lætitia, the dowager countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth, and address, and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him her master of the horse; on the appearance of the armada she appointed him (he was

\* Murdin, 632. Lansdowne MSS. lvi. 3, 4. lvii. 4. In Lodge, ii. 387, is a ludicrous instance of the power assumed by the commissioners. Bagot, employed by lord Shrewsbury to receive the money, writes to him in favour of Jolliffe, to whom a privy seal had been sent; and proceeds thus, "there is one Reynold Devill, a man of great wealth, without will or charge, a usurer by occupation, and worth M. lb. He will never do good in his countree. It were a charitable deede for your lordship to impose it (Jolliffe's share) upon him."

† Wilk. Con. iv. 340. D'Ewes, 454.

then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain-general of the cavalry; and, when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness for him in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite: the queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice cherished and strengthened his passions. But the company of "the old woman" had few attractions for the volatile young nobleman; and the desire of glory, perhaps the hope of plunder (for he was already twenty-two thousand pounds in debt) taught him to turn his eyes towards the armament at Plymouth\*. Without communicating his intention to the queen, he suddenly disappeared from court, rode with expedition to Plymouth, embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, a ship of the royal navy, and instantly put out to sea, with the intention of following the fleet, which had sailed several days before. He was scarcely departed, when the earl of Huntingdon arrived, with orders to arrest the fugitive, and bring him back a prisoner to the feet of his sovereign. Finding that he was too late, he sent a copy of the royal instructions to the commanders of the expedition†.

In their company was don Antonio, prior of Crato, who had unsuccessfully contended with Philip for the crown of Portugal. The queen had given orders that they should first attempt to raise a revolution in his favour; and, if that failed, should scour the coast of the peninsula, and inflict on the subjects of Philip every injury in their power‡. But Drake had too long been accustomed to absolute command in his freebooting expeditions. He refused to be shackled by instructions, and sailed directly to the harbour of Corunna. Several sail of merchantmen and ships of war fell into his hands:

\* Murdin, 634.

† Lodge, ii. 397.

‡ Lodge, ii. 385. Camden, 602.

the fishermen's town or suburb was taken; and the magazines, stored with oil and wine, became the reward of the conquerors. But it was in vain that a breach was made in the wall of the place itself; every assault was repulsed, and three hundred men perished by the unexpected fall of a tower. By this time the conde d'Andrada had entrenched himself at the Puente de Burgos. Norris marched against him with an inferior force; the first attempt to cross the bridge failed; the next succeeded; and the invaders had the honour of pursuing their opponents more than a mile. But it was a barren honour, purchased with the loss of many valuable lives\*.

From Corunna the commanders wrote to the queen an exaggerated account of their success, but informed her that they had received no tidings of the earl of Essex. That nobleman waited for them at sea, and accompanied them to Peniche, on the coast of Portugal. On their arrival it was resolved to land: Essex leaped the first into the surf; and the castle was instantly taken. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus; the army marched through Torres Vedras and St. Sebastian to Lisbon. But the cardinal Albert, the governor of the kingdom, had given the command to Fonteio, an experienced captain, who destroyed all the provisions in the vicinity, and, having distributed his small band of Spaniards in positions the best adapted to suppress any rising in the city, patiently waited the arrival of the enemy. The English advanced without opposition: Essex with his company knocked at the gate for admittance; but the moment they retired the Spaniards sallied out in small parties, and surprised the

May  
13.

\* Ibid. 389—395. Birch, i. 53. Camden, 600—602. Norris and Drake appear to have been proficient in the art of composing official despatches. They tell the council that in these battles, which were fiercely contested, they killed 1000 of the enemy with the loss of only three men. (Lodge, *ibid.*) But lord Talbot writes to his father: "as I hear privately, not without the loss of as many of our men as of theirs, if not more; and without the gain of anything, unless it were honour, and the acquainting our men with the use of their weapons." Ibid. 396.



weak and the stragglers. At length sickness and want compelled Norris to abandon the enterprise: not a sword had been drawn in favour of Antonio; and, in spite of the prayers and the representations of that prince, the army marched to Cascaes, a town already captured and plundered by Drake. From Cascaes the expedition  
 May 27. sailed on its return to England; and the next day was separated by a storm into several small squadrons. One of these took and pillaged the town of Vigo; the others, having suffered much from the weather, and still more from the vigorous pursuit of Padilla with a fleet of seventeen galleys, successively reached Plymouth. Of the twenty-one thousand men, who sailed on this disastrous expedition, not one-half, and out of eleven hundred gentlemen, not more than one-third, lived to revisit their native country\*. The queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip, but lamented the loss of lives and treasure with which it had been purchased. The blame was laid by her on the disobedience and rapacity of the two commanders; by them partly on each other, partly on the heat of the climate, and the intemperance of the men. But these complaints were carefully suppressed: in the public accounts the loss was concealed: every advantage was magnified; and the people celebrated with joy the triumph of England over the pride and power of Spain†.

Essex, on his return, found the court divided between the factions of two competitors for the royal favour, sir Walter Raleigh and sir Charles Blount. With Raleigh the reader is already acquainted, as formerly the rival of

\* Camden makes the number of men employed in the expedition 12,500, and that of the missing at its return 6000 (Camden, 601. 605): which, if he confine it to the army, will agree with more certain accounts. Baillie, the captain of the *Mary Germán*, wrote to lord Shrewsbury from Plymouth, that the land forces amounted to 20,000 men, which must be an exaggeration. Fenner, who held a high command in the fleet, gives the numbers in the text. It was, he adds, "a miserable action;" nor could he write with his hand, what his heart thought. Birch, i. 58.

† See the despatches in Lodge, *ibid.* Birch, i. 58—61. Strype, iv. 8. Camden, 601—605. Stow, 751. 756. Maffei, *Hist. ab excessu Gregorii XIII.* l. ii. 48, 49.

Hatton. When Hatton was raised to the chancellorship, Raleigh retained the office of captain of the guard, and was careful to improve the opportunity which that situation afforded him of advancing his own interests. He obtained from the queen an extension of his valuable monopoly, the prisages of wines, a grant of the lands forfeited by Babington, in Derbyshire, and another grant, to the amount of twelve thousand acres, near Cork, being parcel of the lands forfeited by the Desmond<sup>s</sup> in Ireland\*. Raleigh's rival was sir Charles Blount, the second son of lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Inner Temple. One day the queen singled him out from the spectators, as she dined in public, inquired his name, gave him her hand to kiss, and bade him remain at court. This was sufficient to point him out to Raleigh as a rival; but the earl of Essex, on his return, assumed a proud superiority over them both; and Raleigh, when he ventured to come into collision with that young nobleman, received from the queen an order to leave England, and go and plant his twelve thousand acres in Ireland. Blount was more fortunate at a tilting match. Elizabeth, to prove her approbation, sent him a chess-queen of gold, which he bound to his arm with a crimson ribbon. The jealousy of Essex induced him to remark, that "now every fool must have his favour;" and the pride of Blount demanded satisfaction for the insult. They fought: Essex was wounded in the thigh; and the queen gratified her vanity with the conceit, "that her beauty had been the object of their quarrel." By her command they were reconciled; and in process of time became of rivals sincere and assured friends†.

But the attention of Elizabeth was soon absorbed by 1588, the extraordinary and important events which rapidly succeeded each other in France. In the last year the king had silently introduced a body of troops into Paris,

\* Birch, i. 56. Naunton, in the *Phenix*, 209.

† Naunton, 212. Osborn, 32.

that he might awe, perhaps punish, the factious demagogues who had obtained the uncontrolled ascendant over the minds of the citizens. The populace rose :  
 Sept. 22. chains were thrown across the streets ; the soldiers, insulated in small bodies from each other, surrendered ; and the duke of Guise became master of the capital \*. An assembly of the states was next convoked at Blois, where the king resolved to despatch by treachery a subject whom he was not allowed to punish by justice. By  
 Dec. 3. his orders the duke was assassinated in the passage to the royal chamber ; and the next day the cardinal of Guise suffered the same fate ; while the cardinal of Bourbon, with the chiefs of the party, was committed to prison †. This intelligence threw the inhabitants of the capital into the most violent ferment : the two brothers were extolled as martyrs ; and the streets, the churches, and the public halls, resounded with cries of vengeance. The duke of Mayenne, the third brother, hastened from Lyons to Paris, and took upon himself, with the title of governor, the exercise of the sovereign authority. Had the king acted with vigour, he might perhaps have crushed the hydra that opposed him : by delay he suffered his opponents to recover from their consternation ; and, as a last resource, was compelled to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre.

The two monarchs with united forces advanced towards Paris. Within its walls, religious frenzy had reached the utmost height. Formerly the doctrine that the people possessed the right of deposing and punishing their sovereigns had been confined to Knox, Goodman, and Languet ‡ ; of late it had been adopted by the university of Paris, was acknowledged by the new parliament, and inculcated by the preachers from the pulpit. They pronounced the king an apostate, an assassin, and a tyrant ; he was said to have forfeited his title to the

\* Consult Griffet, *De la journée des Barricades*, Daniel, xi. 439.

† See the Hardwicke papers, i. 231. 296. Camden, 607.

‡ Languet was the author of *Junius Brutus*, published by Duplessis Mornai.

sovereignty; and men were exhorted to free the kingdom from the rule of the monster. Jacques Clement, a young Dominican friar, of weak intellect and strong feelings, undertook the task. On the credit of a forged letter from Harlay, first president of the parliament, he obtained an introduction to Henry; and, as the king bent forward to hear him, plunged a knife into his bowels. The monarch exclaimed that he was murdered; his guards burst into the room; and Clement was immediately slain\*. This hasty vengeance unfortunately prevented the examination of the culprit; and it could never be ascertained whether the project originated with himself, or had been suggested to him by others.

Henry died the next day; and the king of Navarre, the descendant of St. Louis, by his youngest son. Robert, count of Clermont, took the title of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. Many of the catholic nobility had hitherto adhered to the royal cause, in opposition to the league; but, before they would acknowledge the new sovereign, they compelled him to sign a paper, by which he engaged not to suffer the public exercise of any other than the catholic worship, except in the towns in which it was already established; not to give offices in cities and corporations to any but catholics; to maintain the rights and privileges of the princes, nobles, and all other faithful subjects; to punish the contrivers of the murder of the late king; and to permit the catholic lords to acquaint the pontiff with the

\* The following is the deposition of Bellegarde, who was present: "Aujourd'hui environs les huit heures, estant en la chambre du roi, qui estoit sur sa chaise d'affaires, sa majesté a dict audict Jacobin ce qu'il avoit à dire. Lequel Jacobin a répondu en ces motz, Sire, Monsieur le premier president se porte bien, et vous baise les mains, et après ces motz a dict au procureur général quil vouldroit bien parler au roi à part . . . . et voyant sa majesté que ledict Jacobin faisoit difficulté de parler, lui a dict en ces motz, approchez vous: ce que ledict Jacobin a fait, et s'est mis en la place dudict sieur deposant, où incontinent il a ouy sadite majesté, qui hausant sa voix a dict, ha mon dieu, qui a esté cause que ledict sieur deposant a tourné la teste, où il a veu sa diete majesté, debout, qui tiroit de son corps ung costean, duquel a plein bras il a par deux foys frappé ledict jacobin dans la face, lui disant: ha, meschant tu m'as tué." Daniel, xi. 505. notes.

reasons of their conduct. But the king was unable to satisfy the bigots of either party. On the one side several catholic gentlemen, distrusting his sincerity, left the royal camp with their followers; on the other, nine regiments of protestants refused to fight under the colours of a sovereign who had engaged to support what they deemed an idolatrous worship \*. Weakened by desertions Henry raised the siege of Paris, divided his army, and retired with a small force into Normandy. The Sept. duke of Mayenne pursued: but the king entrenched  
21. himself at Arques, near Dieppe, and repulsed the army of the enemy, though four times as numerous as his own. Within a few days he received from Elizabeth the sum of 20,000*l.* in gold to pay his foreign troops, and an aid of 4000 Englishmen, under the command of lord Willoughby. He was now able to act offensively. By a forced march he retraced his steps, surprised the suburbs of Paris, on the left of the river, returned by Tours into Normandy, and reduced several towns of importance. During the campaign the English supported by their bravery the honour of their country: but they suffered severely in several actions; and the survivors were dismissed with thanks in the beginning of the following year †.

The duchy of Bretagne, originally a female fee, had been annexed to the French crown by a marriage with a female. Hence it was now claimed by the king of Spain for his daughter, the infanta, as representative of her mother Elizabeth of France; and at the same time by the duke of Mercœur, in right of his wife, a descendant of the ancient princes of the country. Instead of opposing each other, they agreed to postpone the settlement of their respective claims till they had effected the conquest of the duchy. Mercœur obtained possession 1590. of several of the principal towns; and the Spaniards, Oct. having landed 5000 men, took the harbours of Blavet

\* Camden, 662.

† Ibid 610, 611.

and Hennebon. Hitherto the solicitations of Henry for assistance, his flattery of the queen, his letters of compliment and attachment, had been of little avail. Elizabeth was liberal of her promises, but administered relief with a slow and sparing hand \*. He had, indeed, some powerful advocates at the English court, the earl of Essex, the secretary Walsingham, and the lord admiral Howard: but Essex was not of the cabinet; Walsingham died in the spring of the year; and the influence of Howard was neutralized by the cautious and calculating policy of Burghley, of whose authority the French ambassadors write that, if the queen were to order one thing, and the lord treasurer another, the latter would be obeyed †. It was not that Elizabeth or her minister was indifferent to the result of the civil war in France: but *he* looked upon its continuance as a benefit, because it exhausted the resources of a power naturally hostile to England, and *she* was always ready to listen to counsels which favoured her habits of parsimony. Now, however, that a Spanish force was actually lodged on the coast of Bretagne, both became alarmed. A loan of money was reluctantly advanced; leave to export ammunition was granted; and a subsidiary army of 3000 men was levied ‡. Essex solicited the command: he urged his request for hours at a time on his knees, at the feet of the queen. But Elizabeth

\* “ Elle est plus conarde de mettre main a la bourse, qu'elle n'eut esté de la mettre à l'espée, si elle eust esté homme.” Egert. 336. It is amusing to observe how the French ambassadors complain of the king's inattention to gratify the vanity of the queen by frequently writing to her. He should send her a short note every fortnight. His letters, so “ délicates et pleines d'affection,” are of more avail than all their reasoning. In fact she began to coquette with Henry soon after the arrival of the ambassadors. “ Elle nous mena en sa chambre secrette, ou elle nous fit monstre de voire beau pourtraict, avec telle demonstration qu'elle nous enida sembler, qu'elle en aymeroit mieux le vifs . . . tant y a qu'elle ne se courrouce poinct, quand on lui faict sentir que vous l'aymez.” What she actually said on these and two other occasions, they have intrusted to the bearer: for the roads are so insecure in France, and the art of deciphering is become so common, that they will not commit it to paper. Ibid. 305. 22. 30. 35. 45. 53. At their suggestion she worked a scarf, and sent it to Henry as a present. Ibid. 359. 365. 413.

† Egert 357. 9.

‡ Ibid. 384.

1591. had the resolution to refuse; and by the advice of  
**Jan.** Burghloy conferred that important trust on sir John  
 7. Norris, an old and experienced officer\*. With his aid  
 the royalists in Bretagne kept the Spaniards in check:  
 but Henry demanded additional assistance: and the  
 prospect of the reduction of Rouen obtained for him  
 the tardy consent of Elizabeth. Essex again came for-  
 ward: the king seconded his suit; and the favourite  
 triumphed at last over the opposition of the minister;  
 and was not displeased, on assuming the command, that  
 Shirley and Wilkes, whom the queen had selected for  
**Aug.** his military advisers, declined the unwelcome task†. He  
 1. landed at Dieppe with 300 lances, 3000 infantry, and  
 300 gentlemen volunteers. But Henry was detained in  
 the distant province of Champagne; and the English  
 force remained for two months inactive in the camp at  
 Arques; where Essex conferred the honour of knight-  
 hood on many of his followers, to console the disappoint-  
 ment of those who had expected to win their spurs in  
 the field. At last the king entered Normandy: a rein-  
 forcement was asked for and obtained from England:  
 and a blockade was established round Rouen during the  
 1592. winter, in which the English suffered severely from the  
 inclemency of the weather, and from skirmishes with  
**Apr.** the enemy. On the return of spring the siege was  
 10. raised at the approach of the duke of Parma; and Es-  
 sex, by order from the queen, left the small remnant of  
 his force under the command of sir Roger Williams.  
 The result of each succeeding campaign was similar.  
 Year after year a subsidiary force sailed from England,  
 too inconsiderable to do more than create a diversion for  
 the moment: in a few months it dwindled away through  
 disease and the casualties of war: and the loss was sub-

\* Egert. 384. 5. Essex, to show his displeasure, left the court. Ibid. 388.

† Rym. xvi. 93. Egert. 415. "In my judgment my lord of Essex will have his will, he is so fully bent to perform it." Lee to lord Shrewsbury, June 20th. "I have not known so gallant a troop go out of England with so many young and untrained commanders" Svd. ear. i. 327.

sequently repaired by the transmission of other petty reinforcements. The truth is, that Henry and Elizabeth were playing a similar game, each seeking to derive benefit from the embarrassments of the other. If the queen reluctantly acceded to the repeated requests of the king, it was chiefly with the view of dislodging the Spaniards from Bretagne: and, if Henry never scrupled to break his engagements to her, it was because he knew that the presence of a Spanish force so near her own shore would act as a stimulus on her parsimony, and, notwithstanding her disappointment and vexation, compel her to aid him with men and money and ammunition\*.

The state papers of the time, which are still extant in considerable numbers, show the restless and irritable condition of the royal mind during this succession of disappointments. The queen's resolves were perpetually changing; nothing that was done could please her; she reprimanded and threatened her ministers at home, and her agents abroad; her favourite Essex, and Unton her ambassador†. But the conduct of the king of France, his apparent indifference to her interests and wishes, and his vexatious demands of additional aid in reply to every complaint, furnished the severest trial to her patience. Aware that she dared not show her resentment, he laughed in secret at her menaces. When he ascended the throne, he had given his word that he would study the grounds of the ancient faith. To the reformed ministers this promise proved a source of alarm and scandal: it was ridiculed by the courtiers; and was considered by the English queen as a mere evasion. But experience convinced Henry that

\* See Rymer, xvi. passim. Murdin, 644—653. Elizabeth ordered the university of Oxford to choose lord Buckhurst chancellor, in opposition to Essex. The latter thus expresses his vexation. "If I die (in the as-sault) pity not me, for I shall die with more pleasure than I live with: if I escape, comfort me not, for the queen's wrong and unkindness is too great." Ibid, 650. Roan, 23d of Dec.

† See Rymer, xvi. from the beginning to p. 200: also Murdin, 644—653. Birch, Negotiations, 1—14.



he must redeem his pledge, if he meant to reign in tranquillity. He assisted at several conferences between the catholic prelates and the reformed divines; and, in 1593, announced his intention of conforming to the ancient worship. Burghley immediately composed for the queen a remonstrance, showing the disgrace and danger of such a step: Elizabeth added a letter in her own hand; but the messenger arrived too late; the ceremony of abjuration had already been performed; July 15 and the king returned an answer, apologizing for his conduct, and confirming his former assurances of gratitude and esteem. At the first shock the queen loudly charged him with perfidy and duplicity: but this burst of passion was succeeded by an unusual depression of spirits, from which she sought relief in the study of theology. She held frequent conferences with the archbishop; she spent much of her time in reading the Scriptures; and she consulted the writings of the ancient fathers. But, though she might thus confirm her own faith, she dared not blame the apostacy of Henry. Policy demanded that, since they were no longer bound to each other by the profession of the same religion, she should secure his friendship by some other tie. A negotiation ensued; and a treaty was concluded at Melun, by which both princes obliged themselves to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with either party\*.

The public mind was now agitated by rumours of plots against the life of the queen. The death of Mary Stuart had not, as she anticipated, secured her from danger; it made her appear to foreign nations as an usurper who, to secure herself on the throne, had shed the blood of the true heir; their prejudice against her was augmented by the continued execution of the catholic missionaries, the narratives of their sufferings,

\* Camden, 661—665. Elizabeth's letter is in Hearne's notes, p. 927. It ends thus: "*vostre asseurée soeur, si ce soit a la vielle mode: avecque la nouvelle je n'ay que faire.* E. R."

and the prints representing the manner of their punishment;\* and there were not wanting men of heated imaginations, who persuaded themselves that they should render a service to mankind by the removal of a woman, who appeared to them in the light of a sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant †. That such projects were sometimes entertained, we can hardly doubt, after the several convictions which took place; and yet it is extremely difficult to fix on any one particular instance, in which the guilt of the accused appears to have been fairly proved. The truth is, that both Elizabeth and Philip employed multitudes of spies, men of ruined fortunes and unprincipled minds. These, in general, whether it was for greater security or additional emolument, contrived to enter into the service of both princes; and, if they were afterwards charged with duplicity by either, sheltered themselves under the plea, that such conduct enabled them to discover and betray the secret councils of the adverse party. To satisfy their employers, they were often compelled to transmit false and alarming intelligence; sometimes they actually formed conspiracies, that they might have the merit of detecting them; and not unfrequently, meeting with associates as abandoned as themselves, they perished in the very snares which they had laid for others. Hence it happened that both the English and Spanish courts were prepared to believe the existence of plots against the lives of their respective sovereigns, and that both Philip and Elizabeth, under the influence of such belief, charged each other with the guilt of intended assassination ‡.

\* See note (P) at the end.

† Persons informs us that he himself had dissuaded some individuals, and particularly one, who, "for delivering of catholique people from persecution, had resolved to lose his own life, or to take away that of her majesty." He had already proceeded more than one hundred miles on his journey, when Persons met him, and after much reasoning prevailed on him to lay aside the project, chiefly on the ground that "the English catholiques themselves desired not to be delivered from their miseries by any such attempt." Persons, *Wardword*, 71.

‡ Camden, 691. There are among the records at Simancas several notices

In the art of detecting the objects, and directing the practices, of such spies and conspirators, Walsingham was unrivalled. After his death that office was assumed by lord Burghley, who, aware that in personal attractions he must yield to most of his competitors in the cabinet, sought to maintain his place in the royal estimation by his superior attention to the safety of his sovereign. Essex, indeed, spent considerable sums in the entertainment of spies upon the continent; yet it constantly happened that his information was anticipated by the industry of Burghley\*, till he obtained the aid of Antonio Perez, once the favourite secretary of Philip, now a refugee in England from the justice or vengeance of his master. Elizabeth, looking on the Spaniard as a traitor, refused him an audience; and Burghley, imitating his sovereign, never spoke with him more than once: but Essex, less scrupulous, admitted his visits, and received from him a hint that Roderigo Lopez, a Jew and a physician, who had been made prisoner in 1558, and had ever since, on account of his skill, been retained in the royal service, was a secret pensioner of the Spanish monarch. Elizabeth would not believe the charge: she allowed, however, her favourite to investigate the matter, joining in commission with him lord Burghley, and his son, sir Robert Cecil. All three proceeded to the house

1594. of Lopez. They interrogated the Jew, seized and Jan. examined his papers, and made every possible inquiry.

28. The result was a conviction in the minds of the Cecils that he was innocent. Elizabeth sharply reprimanded her favourite, who, returning to his house, refused to leave his chamber, till by repeated messages and apologies she had "atoned" for the affront. Stimulated by vexation and the hope of mortifying the Cecils, he resumed the inquiry; and with much labour made out

sent to Philip, of plots to assassinate him. Probably both that prince and Elizabeth attributed to each other projects of which they were equally incapable.

\* Reliq. Watton, p. 187, 8<sup>th</sup> edit. 1635.

a probable charge of high treason against Lopez, and two Portuguese followers of don Antonio, called Ferreira and Louis. Ferreira confessed, that by direction of the Jew he had written a letter to Fuentes and Ibarra, the Spanish ministers in the Low Countries, offering to poison the queen for a reward of 50,000 crowns; and Louis, that he had been commissioned by the same ministers to come to England, and urge Lopez to the execution of his promise. How far these confessions, made in the Tower, and probably on the rack, are deserving of credit, may be doubted. Letters were certainly intercepted, which proved the existence of a plot, to set fire to the fleet; and the Jew himself acknowledged that he had occasionally received presents from the Spanish court, and had in return made general offers of service; but he denied that he had ever done, or meant to do, anything prejudicial to the person of the queen; and it may be observed, as some confirmation of his statement, that on one occasion he had shown her a valuable ring which he had received, and put to her the question, whether it were not allowed him "to deceive the deceiver." All three on their trials were found Feb. guilty; but judgment was respited during three months, 28. in the hope that they would make further discoveries \*. After the execution of Lopez and Louis, the queen June wrote to the archduke Ernest, the new governor of 7. Flanders, requesting a passport for a gentleman, who would inform him of the desperate practices of Fuentes and Ibarra, and would demand the surrender of her

\* On the treason of Lopez, see Camden, 676, 677. Birch, i. 149—152. 156—160. Murdin, 669. Bacon's Works, ii. 106. edition of 1802. Bacon wrote his account at the desire of his patron, the earl of Essex. Two letters had been obtained, brought by Louis from Fuentes and Ibarra. It was difficult to discover their real meaning. By these ministers it was pretended that they referred to an intrigue which Walsingham, who was dead, had carried on with some of the secretaries to the Spanish council: but Louis was induced to refer them to the assassination of the queen. Birch, i. 156. Murdin, 683. I cannot explain how it happens that both Camden, 677, and Stowe, 768, relate the execution of Ferreira; though he appears to have been saved by the favour of Essex, whom he accompanied to Cadiz, and to whom he afterwards presented a memorial, to be seen in Birch, ii. 268.

traitorous subjects, Owen, Throckmorton, Holt the jesuit, and Worthington and Gifford, professors of theology. The archduke complied, but with so little ceremony, that the pride of Elizabeth was offended, and the passport was returned\*.

The king of France, in compliance with an article in the late treaty, had declared war against Spain. He had soon reason to doubt the policy, and repent of the precipitancy, of the measure. Velasco, constable of Castile, entered Champagne, and threatened Franche-Comté. Fuentes penetrated into Picardy, dispersed the French army, carried Dourlens by storm, and obtained possession of the important city of Cambray. It was in vain that Henry called on Elizabeth for aid. She anticipated a second attempt at invasion on the part of Philip, recalled her troops from the defence of Bretagne, openly condemned herself of folly, in having expended so much money, and lost so many valuable lives in France; and, if at last she appeared to relent, she still demanded the previous possession of Calais, as a security or indemnity for the charges of the war. Henry rejected the proposal with scorn: but at the same time admonished her that he was unable to continue the war without aid; that his people clamorously demanded a peace; and that, if she abandoned him in his necessities, he should be compelled to throw himself into the arms of Spain †.

\* Compare Camden, 677, with a letter in Birch, *Negotiations*, 15.

† Consult the correspondence on this subject in Birch, *Negotiations*, 26—36; and in Murrin, 701—734. Henry, to subdue her obstinacy, made a singular appeal to her vanity. Unton, the ambassador (probably the first was concerted between them), wrote to her that one day the king asked him how he liked his mistress, La belle Gabrielle. "I answered," says Unton, "sparingly in her praise, and told him that, if without offence I might speak it, I had a picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty." The reader will recollect that Elizabeth was only in her six y-third year. Unton now showed it to the king. "He beheld it with passion and admiration: saying that I had reason; *Je me rends*; protesting that he had never seen the like. He kissed it, took it from me, vowing that he would not forego it for any treasure; and that, to possess the favour of the lively picture, he would forsake all the world." They then began to talk upon business: "but I found," adds the ambassador, "that the

The reports of the preparations in the harbours of the peninsula had excited a general alarm throughout England. It was evident that the failure of the first expedition had partly been owing to accident and the weather: a more favourable season might enable a second armada to land an army on the coast; and a contest between new levies, however brave, and a veteran force, inured to victory, could not be contemplated without apprehension for the result. Every precaution was taken: fortifications were erected; ships were commissioned; troops were levied in the different counties; and all recusants and suspected persons were compelled to deliver up their arms, and to remove from free, as it was called, into close custody\*. In the mean time the archduke Albert, cardinal of Austria, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, under the pretence of raising the siege of La Fere, by a sudden and unexpected march, sat down with fifteen thousand men before Calais. The adjoining forts were soon won; the town itself, after an armistice of eight days, surrendered; and the garrison retiring into the citadel, maintained a brave but hopeless resistance. This unlooked-for event perplexed Elizabeth. She ordered the lord mayor to impress one thousand men as an immediate reinforcement: the next morning she revoked the order; the day after she renewed it. But the French envoys observed that the urgency of the case admitted of no delay; a strong detachment might be sent from the army already embodied; or the English fleet might make its appearance at the mouth of the harbour. She interrupted

\* "dumb picture did draw on more speech and affection from him, than all my best arguments and eloquence." Murdin, 718, 719. Elizabeth was proud, or pretended to be proud of these compliments to her beauty. She sent, probably in consequence of this letter, her portrait as a present to Henry's sister; but the king received a hint from lord Sheffield to keep it for himself. He did so, and wrote to her that he was sure she meant it in reality for him, and that it had given him such a notion of her beauty that he could not prevail on himself to part with it. Egerton, 415.

\* "These Spanish preparations, I assure your lordship, doth breed in credible fears in the mynds of most men." Sydney Papers, i. 355, 356.

them to ask, whether, if she preserved the place, Henry would put it, or Boulogne, into her hands. They replied, that they had no instructions on that head. In fact, sir Robert Sydney had been already sent to make the proposal. But the king turning his back on the messenger, indignantly replied, that he would rather submit to a box on the ear from a man, than to a fillip from a woman\*. In a few days the citadel was taken by storm; the French charged the queen with duplicity, in raising expectations which she had refused to fulfil; and Elizabeth herself beheld with regret the establishment of the Spaniards in a port, which offered additional facilities to the invasion of England †.

In these circumstances Henry applied again to the queen for assistance, and by his ambassadors proposed an alliance offensive and defensive of all the powers, whose interests were endangered by the ambition of Philip. The lord-treasurer required, as an indispensable condition, that the king should be bound never to make peace with the common enemy without the concurrence of his allies: and to this the French negotiators assented, but contrived to introduce into another part of the treaty a provision, under the cover of which they trusted that Henry might, if he pleased, escape from the obligation ‡. Nor was that the only deception practised on the occasion. The amount of the auxiliary force to be supplied to the party originally at war had been fixed at 4000 men; and under this form the provision was

\* "Qu'il aimoit mieux recevoir un soufflet du roy d'Espagne qu'une chiquenaude d'elle." Du Vair, apud Egerton, 35.

† Camden, 719. Stowe, 763. Birch, i. 463. 465. Daniel, xii. 244, and a great number of papers in Rymer, tom. xv.

‡ Du Vair mentions with much self-complacency his own adroitness in slipping in ('fit glisser') two articles, the object of which the simplicity of the English council did not discover. They were that, if one party failed to perform his obligation by the appointed time, the other should be free, and that the ratifications should be exchanged within six months. Henry seems to have taken the benefit of the latter: for the date of the treaty is April 26; and Elizabeth swore to its observance on the 29th of August; but Henry waited for more than seven months till the 21st of December. Egerton, 293. 407. Camd. 730.

communicated to the States, who immediately acceded to it: but at the same time, by a secret article the number was cut down in favour of the English queen from four to two thousand, and these were to be employed, not in the field, but in garrison duty at Boulogne, and Montreuil. This was the utmost that the ambassadors could obtain from the queen, whose attention was now directed to objects more closely connected with her own safety.

1°. Elizabeth had recently become acquainted with the failure of the expedition to the West Indies, undertaken by Hawkins and Drake. The Spanish settlements in the new world were no longer in that defenceless condition, in which they had formerly been found. Wherever the English landed, they were bravely opposed: if they inflicted injury, they received equal injury in return; the two commanders died under the anxiety of their minds, and the rigour of the service; and the survivors returned without glory, and what, perhaps, was equally distressing to the queen, without plunder to repay the expenses of the expedition\*.

2°. The hostile preparations in the Spanish harbours excited considerable alarm; and for several weeks the defence of the realm had been the subject of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, urged the same measure which he had proposed on the former occasion, to anticipate the design of the enemy by sending out an expedition to destroy his ports, shipping and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burghley, and by his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the consent of the queen. She gave Mar. him the command of the land, while the lord admiral 18. held that of the naval force; but, to restrain his impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority.

\* Camden, 699—701.



The members were, besides the two commanders in chief, the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh for the naval, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford for the land service\*.

- After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humour of the queen, the expedition left the harbour of Plymouth. By the junction of twenty-two ships from Holland, it amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, and carried fourteen thousand men, of whom one thousand or fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers†. At the end of three weeks the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the haven of Cadiz, in which were discovered fifteen men of war, and about

\* Camden, 721. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1591, had debauched Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the maids of honour, and for this offence was, in July following, committed to the custody of sir G. Carew. From the window he saw the queen's barge on the Thames, and pretended to become frantic at the sight. He suffered, he said, all the horrors of Tantalus: he would go on the water and see his mistress. Sir George interfered: a struggle ensued: Raleigh tore off his keeper's new periwig; and both drew their daggers before they were parted. See a letter of July 26, in the new edition of Shakespeare, App. 577. As this adventure did not move the queen, he had recourse to another expedient. She was going on her progress. "How," he asked, "could he live alone in prison, while she was far off? He was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus. But once amiss had bereaved him of all." He then exclaims, "All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hidden under such heaps of sweetness?" (Letter to Cecil in Murdin, 657). But this flattery did not atone for his presumption or infidelity. He was confined in the Tower two months, and at his discharge in September forbidden to come near the court; nor could he, till after his return from the expedition to Cadiz, obtain leave to resume his office of captain of the guard. Camden, 697. Birch, ii. 345.

† The queen composed two prayers, one for her own use, the other to be daily used in the fleet during the expedition (Camden 721). The former may be seen in Birch, ii. 18, with a letter to Essex, from sir Robert Cecil, who, in a tone of the most fulsome flattery, observes, "No prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those, who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty. None so near approach his place and essence, as a celestial mind in a princely body. Put forth, therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having your sails filled with her heavenly breath for your forewind." Ibid. Lord Burghley also composed a prayer, and printed it for the use of the public. It is in Strype, iv. 262.

forty merchantmen. At seven the next morning, the English, in defiance of the fire from the forts and batteries, entered the harbour; the Spaniards met their foes with determined courage; and for some hours the action was maintained on both sides with equal obstinacy. But about one in the afternoon the enemy attempted to run their ships ashore, and set them on fire. Two of the largest, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew, with an argosy, were taken; the galleys effected their escape by sea; and the merchantmen, that had proceeded to Port Royal during the action, having discharged their cargoes, were burnt by order of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

Within an hour from the termination of the engagement by sea, the earl of Essex, with his wonted promptitude, had landed three thousand men at Puntal, and marched with fifteen hundred in the direction of the city. A small body of horse and foot threatened opposition: but they fell back as he advanced; and finding the gate shut against them, made their way over a ruinous part of the wall. Essex followed at their heels: the enemy kept up a destructive fire from the houses: but he advanced as far as the market-place, where he was joined by the lord admiral and another party that had entered by a portal. Resistance was now at an end; and early the next morning a capitulation was signed, by which the inhabitants paid a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives; and the town, the merchandise, and every kind of property, were abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors\*.

June  
22.

The commanders met in council to deliberate on their

\* "The town of Cales was very rich in merchandize, in plate, and money; many rich prisoners given to the land commanders so as that sort are very rich. Some had prisoners for 16,000 ducats, some for 20,000, some for 10,000; and beside, great houses of merchandize. What the generals have gotten I know lest; they protest it is little. For my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usance; but I have possession of nought but poverty and pain." Raleigh apud Cayley, i. 272.

future proceedings. Essex proposed to march with the army into the heart of Andalusia; and, when that was rejected, offered to remain in the isle with three or four thousand men, and to defend it against all the power of the enemy\*. There was, in both of these plans, less of real than of apparent danger. Spain had been drained of its disciplined forces; the nobles were discontented at their exclusion from the offices of the government; the people in several provinces had manifested a disposition to revolt; and the Moriscoes would have cheerfully joined the banners of the strangers†. But the majority of the council opposed every suggestion offered by the earl: the town, with the exception of the churches, July was reduced to ashes; and the troops, taking with them 5. the most valuable portion of the plunder, re-embarked. At sea the same dissension prevailed among the leaders; Aug. and after many altercations, and two unimportant 10. descents on the Spanish coast, the fleet returned to Plymouth about ten weeks after its departure‡.

Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men of war, and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores; the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who wished well to Spain, allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilt, no woman to be defiled, but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number, to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their

\* Essex in his apology, Birch, ii. 53.

† Hawkins from Venice, Aug. 20th, apud Birch, ii. 112. *Lettres d'Ossat*, l. 301.

‡ We have several accounts from different persons employed in the expedition, in Birch, ii. 46—53. See also Camden, 720—723. Stowe, 770—776. Strype, iv. 236—238, and Raleigh's works, viii. 671.

jewels and wearing apparel\*. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cool and ungracious reception.

From the first introduction of Essex at court, Burghley had looked on him with a jealous eye. Age and infirmity admonished that statesman that it was time for him to retire; and he naturally sought to bequeath his place and his influence in the council to his son sir Robert Cecil. Aware that Essex might prove a dangerous competitor, he maintained towards him the external forms of friendship, while he secretly endeavoured to undermine his influence; and the queen, perhaps to show that she was not governed by her young favourite, often listened to the suggestions of his opponent; and, though she generally granted his petitions for himself, uniformly refused the favours which he solicited for his dependants. In 1590 Walsingham died: to supply his place Burghley proposed his son Robert; Essex, first the unfortunate Davison, and afterwards sir Thomas Bodley. Elizabeth, under the pretence of preserving peace between the parties, refused to make any appointment; but desired Burghley to take the office provisionally on himself, and at his request allowed him to employ his son as an assistant†. The object of "the old fox" (so Essex was accustomed to call him) was manifest: yet for six years the earl had sufficient credit to retard the appointment of sir Robert. Soon, however, after the departure of the fleet, Elizabeth signed a warrant in his favour; and the courtiers, predicting the ascendancy of the Cecils, sought to instil into the royal ear suspicions

\* Birch, ii. 125. Strype, iv. 287. They must, however, share this praise with the queen, who had strictly bound them to such conduct by her instructions. Camden, 721.

† Burghley entertained the queen at a great expense, at Theobald's, where she knighted his son (May 30, 1591), and soon afterwards (Aug. 2) ordered him to be sworn of the privy council. Sydney pap. i. 312-26-29 Murdin, 796, 797.

and misgivings, respecting the conduct of the absent favourite. His gallantries and debaucheries, his presumption and obstinacy, his extravagance and irritability were exaggerated, and hypocritically lamented. They made light of the capture of Cadiz. It was a cheap and easy conquest; the only resistance had been made by sea; and there the whole merit belonged to sir Walter Raleigh. How far they might have persuaded the queen, is uncertain; but when she learned that the plunder, instead of being preserved for the treasury, had been divided among the adventurers, her avarice convinced her of the misconduct of Essex, and she was heard to declare that, if she had hitherto done his pleasure, she would now teach him to do hers\*.

On their return to Plymouth, the two commanders in chief received an extraordinary message. The expedition, they were told, had already cost the queen fifty thousand pounds; *she* would be at no further expense; it was for *them*, who knew what was become of the plunder, to provide funds for the payment of the mariners and soldiers†. The earl immediately hastened to court; but aware of the unfavourable reports made to the queen, he assumed a new character, that of a saint. He was no longer the gay and voluptuous Essex. He became grave and sedate; those who had been scandalized by the publicity of his amours, were surprised at the attentions which he exclusively lavished on his countess; and his constant appearance at church, his devout demeanour at sermons and prayers, edified, perhaps amused, his former companions‡. The queen reluctantly betrayed her satisfaction at the return of her favourite: but she obstinately refused to listen to his justification in private. He was compelled, day after day, to appear before her in council, and to answer to every article. He contended that he and his colleague had done whatever it was in their power to do; that

\* Birch, ii. 96. 100. Sidney papers, i. 243.

† Birch, ii. 93.

‡ Ibid. 116. 122.

they had brought home for the queen two galleons, and more than one hundred pieces of brass ordnance; that, if she had not received her share of the plunder, she must look for indemnification to the commissioners appointed by the lord treasurer, who, though often admonished, had neglected to perform their duty\*; and that for himself, he had, on every occasion, been thwarted by his colleagues in the council, and the creatures of the Cecils, who had even opposed his proposal to sail to Tercera, and intercept the treasure of the Spanish king on its way from the Indies. While the cause was yet Sept. pending, advice was received that this fleet, with twenty 4. millions of dollars on board, had arrived in the ports of Spain. The queen's indignation was instantly pointed against his adversaries and their patrons: every man hastened to seek a reconciliation with the accused; and even Burghley himself, who had formerly suggested to Elizabeth, that the ransom paid by the inhabitants belonged to the crown, now supported Essex in opposition to her claim. This apostacy of the treasurer threw the queen into a paroxysm of rage: she called him "a miscreant and a coward, more afraid of Essex than of herself," and poured on him such a torrent of abuse, that he retired home in despair, and talked "of obtaining 22. "license to live as an anchorite, as fittest for his age, his infirmities, and his declining influence at court†."

It would weary the patience of the reader to attend to the continual dissensions between these rival statesmen. The queen preferred sir Robert Cecil as a man of business, Essex as an agreeable companion. The former was industrious and intelligent, a master in the art of flattery, and always ready to sacrifice his own opinion to the superior, or, as he termed it, "the divine judgment of his sovereign‡." But Essex was petulant

\* Birch, ii. 131. 141.

† Birch, 146—148. "He hath made the old fox to crouch and whine."

Ibid. 153.

‡ Ibid. Negotiations, 152.

and obstinate: when he could not prevail by argument or entreaty, he reproached the queen with unkindness, retired from the court, and confined himself to his bed, under pretence of indisposition; and though Elizabeth repeatedly resolved to break his spirit, she as repeatedly submitted to his pleasure, under the idle fear of breaking his heart. There was, moreover, another point, in which he was in danger of forfeiting the royal favour. The world refused him credit for that superior sanctity which he affected; and the scandal of the court had marked him out, perhaps unjustly, for the favoured lover of a married lady of high rank\*. With the reputation of other women the queen had little concern: but to watch over the conduct of the young females employed about her person, was a duty which she owed both to herself and to their parents. Among her maids of honour was a lady, called Bridges, to whom the palm of superior beauty had been assigned by common consent. She quickly attracted the notice of Essex: his attentions flattered her vanity, perhaps won her affections; and the tale of her indiscretion was soon whispered in the royal ear. Elizabeth sent for Bridges, with her companion Russell, convinced the culprit of her displeasure by the infliction of manual chastisement, and ordered 1597. both to be discharged with ignominy from her service. Apr. For three nights the house of lady Stafford afforded 10. them an asylum: at length, having asked pardon, and promised amendment, they were restored to favour†.

A stop was put to these courtly broils by the news received from Spain. For eight years Philip, though he might threaten, had literally done nothing against England. He appeared to sleep over the war, till the blow received at Cadiz awakened him from his apathy

\* See lady Bacon's letter to him on his "backsliding," and his answer, *Ibid.* 218—220.

† The cause of the queen's displeasure was given out to be "their taking of physic, and one day going privately through the privy galleries to see the playing at ballon." *Sydney papers*, ii. 38. He adds, "you may conjecture whence these storms arise." *Ibid.*

Now he publicly vowed revenge; the fleet from the Indies had replenished his treasury; his people offered him an abundant supply of money; and he ordered the adelantado of Castile to prepare a second armada for the invasion of England. He even indulged a hope, that if success attended the expedition, his daughter, the infanta of Spain, might be placed on the English throne\*.

3°. To understand this visionary project, the reader must go back to the divisions which prevailed among the catholic exiles previously to the death of Mary Stuart. The fate of that princess, which was certainly, though unintentionally, occasioned by the vindictive intrigues of Morgan, Paget, and their associates, confirmed the ascendant which their adversaries had already acquired in the different catholic courts. They however did not yield without a struggle. They loudly complained that the ambition of the jesuits had monopolized the business of the nation; they maintained that secular affairs did not belong to religious bodies; they sent agents of their own to most of the catholic princes; they sought to undermine the influence of Persons at the court of Madrid, to prevent the promotion of Allen, and afterwards to balance his influence by procuring a cardinal's hat for their own associate Lewis, bishop of Cassano †. But every plan was defeated by the superior address or superior influence of their opponents, who were distinguished by the appellation of the Spanish party. Allen was its nominal, Persons its effective head; their principal associates were the jesuits Cresswell and Holt, sir Francis Englefield, sir Francis Stanley, Owen and Fitzherbert. The great object of the party was the restoration of the catholic worship in England under the sway of a catholic sovereign, whom both gratitude and interest induced them to seek in the royal house of Spain. The jealousy of Elizabeth and the prohibitory statute had

\* Padilla's commission is in Strype, iv. 316

† Persons, Briefe Apology, 5, 6. 31. 36



closed the mouths of men, with respect to the succession\*: but it was highly probable that at her death a number of competitors would start for the throne; and the exiles in general entertained an opinion that Burghley would support, with all his influence, the claim of Arabella Stuart, to whose hand his son, sir Robert, was already said to aspire. To defeat this supposed purpose, to awaken the public attention, and to prepare the way for the daughter of Philip, they published the celebrated tract, entitled, "A conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, had in 1593, by R. Doleman †." This work, the production of different pens, was said to have been revised and edited by Persons ‡. In the first part, it undertakes to prove that, as the right of succession is regulated not by divine, but by positive laws, which are not immutable, but must vary with circumstances, the profession of a false religion is in all cases a sufficient bar against propinquity of

\* "A law being made that no man, under pain of treason, should talke or reason of the next successor to the crowne, so great an ignorance grew thereby into the people's heades and heartes, of that thing which most of all (next after God) imported them to know, and which one day must be tryed by the uttermost adventure of goods, life, and soules, as it seemed most needful to prevent in part so great a mischief, and to let them see and heare at least, what and how many there were, that did or might pretend to the same." Persons to the earl of Angus, apud Plowden, Remarks on Memoirs of Panzani, 337.

† The book was dedicated to the earl of Essex in 1595, with such praise of his many virtues, that the jealousy of the queen was excited. What passed between them on the subject is not known; but on the 3rd of November it was observed that when he left her, he looked pale and pensive. On his arrival at his own house, he seemed much indisposed; and, though the queen visited him the next day, kept his bed till the 12th. Sydney Papers, i. 350. 7. 9.

‡ But, says the French minister, "Il est certain que ce livre qui court contre le dit Roi et la succession sous le nom de Persons, n'a oncques été fait par ce Jésuite, et que l'on a emprunté son nom exprès pour irriter ledit Roi contre lui et contre ceux de son ordre." Villeroy in la Boderie, iii. 142. Villeroy was, however, imposed upon; and Mr. Tierney (in Dodd, iii. 31, note) has proved that Persons was the principal writer of the book. It was partly reprinted, under the title of "Several Speeches made at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed against their King for Misgovernment" (Lond. 1648), of which Charles I. greatly complained, and to which Bradshaw was indebted for his speech at the condemnation of the same king. Afterwards it supplied materials for most of the publications against the succession of James, duke of York, in the reign of Charles II., especially for "The Great and Weighty Considerations relating to the Duke of York as Successor to the Crown." Lond. 1680.

blood: in the second it enumerates the different persons, who, on account of their descent from the royal family of England, may advance any pretensions to the crown after the death of the queen: but, though it professes to state all the arguments for and against their respective claims with the most perfect impartiality, it continually betrays a strong leaning towards the pretended right of the infanta, as the lineal representative of John of Ghent, son of Edward III\*. This tract excited an extraordinary sensation both in England and on the continent: it alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers; and it flattered the pride of Philip, who, at the persuasion of Persons, had consented to renounce his own pretensions, with the vain hope of seeing his daughter seated on the English throne. He offered the command of the expedition to the adelantado of Castile, who proposed and obtained his own terms; an emissary hastened to England to sound the disposition of the earl of Essex; and the exiles, in their secret councils, formed different plans to promote the success of the projected invasion, and to facilitate the accession of their imaginary queen†.

But the preparations of Philip, and the views of the party, were carefully communicated to the English council by secret agents in the Spanish court. After some struggle, the economy of Elizabeth yielded to her fears, and the remonstrances of her advisers. She consented that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and gave the command to Essex, with the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh, for his seconds. On his arrival at Plymouth he found a fleet of 140 sail, and an army of 8000 soldiers, waiting his command. He was no longer fettered with a council of war: the Cecils, he persuaded himself, had become his friends; and he saw nothing before him but a harvest of victory and glory. Unfortunately the weather was adverse: his impatience lamented

\* Camden, 672.

† Birch, i. 304. 321. ii. 307.

the delay; the queen's parsimony, the additional expense. To remove the cause, both had recourse to prayer: the wind came round to the north-east; and the humble mind of Elizabeth attributed the change to the more fervent devotion of her favorite\*.

- But Essex was destined to experience nothing but misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues, when it was driven
- July 11. back to port by a storm, which continued four days. With his usual obstinacy the earl contended against the winds and waves, till his ship was a mere wreck. The gentlemen volunteers who accompanied him had seen
21. enough of the naval service: on his return to Falmouth most of them stole away to their homes†.
- Aug. 17. To have refitted the fleet would have been to incur an expense, to which the queen would not submit. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force, and on a different destination. He reached the Azores: Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, submitted; but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, had already escaped into the harbour of Tercera; and the English, with
- Oct. 9. four inconsiderable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to their own shores‡. At the same time

\* Letter of Knollys in Birch, ii. 351. She published her prayer for the use of her people. It is in that quaint obscure style which she affected, and which, to be understood by the majority of her subjects, ought to have been translated into ordinary language. It begins thus: "Oh God, almaker, keeper and guider, inurement of thy rare-seen, unused, and seeld-heard-of goodness, poured in so plentiful sort upon us full oft, breeds now this boldness to crave thy large hand of helping power, to assist with wonder our just cause, not founded on pride's motion, or begun on malice' stock." Strype, iv. 316.

† Camden, 738. Sydney papers, 57. "I beat it up till my ship was falling asunder, having a leak, that we pumped eight tuns of water a day out of her: her main and foremast cracked, and most of her beams broken and left, besides the opening of all her seams." Birch, ii. 37.

‡ Camden, 740—744. Stowe, 783. Apology of the earl of Essex, 15—19. Raleigh had attacked and taken Fayal without orders. Essex, who deemed the honour stolen from himself, received him with expressions of anger, and ordered several officers to be put under arrest. When he was advised to bring Raleigh to a court-martial, "I would," he replied, "had he been one of my friends." The quarrel was hushed by the good offices of lord Thomas Howard. Camden, 741. Verc's Commentaries, 51. Sydney papers, 74.

the adelantado sailed from Ferrol with the intention of obtaining possession of the Isle of Wight, or of some strong post on the shore of Cornwall, which might be garrisoned and kept till the following spring, the season selected for the grand attempt. The two armaments, though at no very great distance, proceeded in the same direction, unknown to each other. The adelantado was Oct. already off the Scilly isles, when a storm arose. Both 23. fleets were dispersed: but the English sought shelter in their own harbours; the Spaniards, compelled to keep at sea, suffered severely. Elizabeth at the first alarm had ordered forces to be raised, had sent for the two thousand men serving in France, and had summoned the lords to the defence of her person. But the elements again fought in her favour. The Spaniard having collected his scattered fleet, shaped his course back to the Spanish coast, and in his return lost by a storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay\*.

From Plymouth the earl proceeded to court, and was received by Elizabeth with frowns and reproaches. He had done nothing to repay the expenses of the expedition, but had wasted her treasure, had disobeyed her instructions, and had insulted and oppressed sir Walter Raleigh. He retired in discontent to his house at Wanstead, and for several weeks the business of the nation was interrupted by his complaints on the one hand, and by the ineffectual attempts of his sovereign to pacify him on the other. She condescended to acknowledge that every charge against him was unfounded: but he was not content. He demanded satisfaction for the imaginary wrongs which had been done to him during his absence. The chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, which he expected for one of his dependants, had been given to sir Robert Cecil; the lord admiral had been created earl 8. of Nottingham, and thus advanced by reason of office to 22. precedence above him; and the praise of the capture of

\* Sydney papers, ii. 72—74. Camden, 744.

Cádiz, which belonged to himself, was in the patent of creation attributed to the new earl. In his waywardness he offered to fight with that nobleman, or with any one of his sons, or with any gentleman of the name of Howard.

Dec. 18. At the queen's request the Cecils and sir Walter Raleigh laboured to pacify this froward child; and, after a long negociation he accepted as an indemnity the appointment of earl marshal, because that office would give him precedence of the lord admiral. Nottingham immediately resigned the staff of lord Steward, and retired from court\*.

4°. The anxiety of the Cecils to satisfy Essex was occasioned by a communication from the king of France. That prince sighed after peace. For thirteen years the realm had been torn by domestic and foreign wars; and, though the league of the catholics was extinguished, another on the same principle had recently been formed by the protestants. With peace abroad he might be able to guide the two parties at home; with war he foresaw that his kingdom must still be ravaged by religious dissensions. It happened that in the beginning of the year the Spaniards surprised the city of Amiens, with the large train of artillery and magazine of provisions within its walls. This stroke quite unnerved him. By Feb. 24. Fouquerolles he solicited prompt and effectual aid of Elizabeth, offering, as security for the expense, to put Calais into her hands on its reduction by their joint exertions: and, at the same time, to work on her apprehensions, he assured her that, unless she would succour and save him, he must accept the services of the pope, who had come forward as mediator between the two crowns. Fouquerolles argued and prayed in vain: and, if Henry delayed to sue immediately for peace, it was solely through the hope that some fortunate event might enable him to negotiate with greater dignity. In the month of September Amiens was recovered: and from that moment he resolved to sheath the sword. Philip,

\* Vere, 66. Sydney papers, 70. 74, 75, 77. Birch, ii. 365. Camden, 746.

weary of the war, and anxious to leave peaceable possession of his dominions to his successor, made no secret of his willingness to restore all his conquests; and, at the request of Henry, furnished the Archduke with full power to treat, not only with him, but also with his allies\*. The queen received the intelligence with displeasure; but unable to dissuade her French brother, she appointed sir Robert Cecil ambassador extraordinary to the French court. That minister, aware from experience of the advantage to be derived from the absence of a rival, was unwilling to depart, as long as Essex remained his enemy. It was therefore to win the friendship of the earl, that he had advised his appointment to the office of earl marshal; to which was afterwards added a present of cochineal to the value of seven thousand pounds, and a contract for the sale of a much larger quantity out of the royal stores, by which he was likely to realize six times that sum. The earl knew that he owed the queen's liberality to the advice of the Cecils: he became their friend; he transacted the business of Feb. secretary for sir Robert, and faithfully watched over 10. his interests during his absence†.

1598.  
Jan.  
21.

After much intentional delay the English ambassador Mar. was joined by the Dutch deputies at Angers; and both 24. employed every expedient to divert the French monarch from the conclusion of peace‡. The Hollanders urged the continuance of the war; Cecil had no proposals to offer; he came, so he pretended, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the sincerity of the Spanish ministers; all he could do was to return to England, and consult his

\* Villeroy's report apud Egerton, 33, 34.

† "He hath given good security to pay the queen 50,000*l*. at 18*s*. the pound for the cochineal; here it is sold for 30*s*. and sometimes 40*s*." Sydney papers, 83. See p. 89, for their friendship. The writer adds:—"Yt is spied out by envy that the earle is again fallen in love with his fairest Bridges. Yt cannot chuse but come to the queen's ears; then he is undone, and all that depend on his favour. . . the countess Essex suspects yt, and is greatly disquiet." Ibid. 90. How he escaped being undone, I know not.

‡ Sir Robert Cecil's train amounted to nearly 200 persons. Sydney papers, ii. 96. His instructions are in Strype, iv. 451.

sovereign; and for that purpose it was requisite that the conferences should be suspended for the space of some months. On the refusal of the king, he united with the allies in holding out the most tempting offers of aid, both in men and money, on condition that Henry should bind himself not to desert the confederacy; but, finding him inexorable, they had recourse to insinuations and reproaches; they charged him with ingratitude to the queen; they told him that on future occasions of distress he must not expect assistance from England. Henry heard them with patience. He acknowledged his obligations to Elizabeth, which he would never forget, though he was not ignorant that by aiding him she had protected herself. But he owed a duty to his people, from which gratitude to others could not excuse him. Peace was necessary to France; and peace, if it could be obtained, he was determined to have\*. Sir Robert returned discontented with the result of his mission. Henry soon afterwards published the edict of Nantes, by which he secured

20. to the protestants every privilege which they could reasonably demand, though he forbade that of holding assemblies and making laws for their own security: and a few

May 2. days afterwards he signed a treaty with Spain, by which he recovered Calais, and every place that had been severed from France during the war. The rest of his reign he spent in healing the wounds which had been inflicted on the country by religious fanaticism and private ambition; and his conduct deserved and obtained for him the love of his subjects, and the respect of posterity.

During the negotiation between the French and Spanish ministers at Vervins, Philip had repeatedly signified his readiness to treat with the queen of England. The question was afterwards warmly discussed in the cabinet. Essex argued with his usual violence in favour

\* Birch, ii. 374—379. Villeroi's report, Egerton, 34, 35. Birch's Negotiations, 119—165. Camden, 759—763. Burghley's instructions respecting the treaty are in Strype, iv. 324. *Mém. de Cheverny*, ii. p. 13.

of war; the Cecils contended as earnestly for peace. On one occasion the lord treasurer, putting the book of psalms into the hands of the earl, pointed in silence to the verse, *Blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days*. On Essex himself it made no impression: by the superstitious it was afterwards considered as a prediction of his subsequent fate. The queen, as usual, listened to both parties, but came to no decision\*.

5°. There was another question of equal interest which divided the cabinet. In Ireland almost the whole population, whether of Irish or English origin, was leagued in open or clandestine hostility against the English government. The office of deputy was dreaded as full of difficulty and danger. The queen, by the advice of the Cecils, wished to give it to sir William Knollys, the earl's uncle: Essex insisted that it should be conferred on sir George Carew, one of his opponents. During the debate Elizabeth addressed him in sarcastic language; he replied by turning his back with an expression of contempt. The queen, no longer mistress of her passion, struck him a violent blow on the ear, adding at the same June. time, that "he might go to the devil." Essex instantly grasped his sword; but the lord admiral interposed; and the earl, bursting out of the room, exclaimed, that he would not have taken such an insult from her father, much less would he bear it from a king in petticoats†.

War was now openly declared, and the court and the whole nation looked forward with curiosity to the result. Both were equally obstinate; Essex demanding satisfaction for the blow, Elizabeth an apology for his presumption. The months of July and August passed without any advance on either side. In September the earl was, or pretended to be, seriously indisposed: but the queen, though she seemed to relent during his danger, relapsed into her former obstinacy with his recovery. His friends conjured him to make "submission" to his

\* Camden, 765—771. Ps. lv. 25.

† Camden, 772. Birch, 11. 384.



- Oct. sovereign. Egerton, the lord-keeper, wrote him a long  
 15. letter of advice, to which he replied by one still longer,  
 18. expressive of his determination to resist, and to abide  
 the consequences. Yet, contrary to the predictions of  
 Nov. the courtiers, a reconciliation was effected, and within a  
 6. fortnight he returned to court. To the public he ap-  
 peared again in favour: but, in the heart of Elizabeth,  
 love had yielded the place to hatred; from that mo-  
 ment she gave the reins to his temerity and ambition,  
 and allowed him to run forward to his own destruction\*.

In the midst of these domestic quarrels the queen lost  
 Aug. the most able and most trusty of her servants by the  
 4. death of the lord Burghley. Other ministers may have  
 possessed equal power: few have retained it for so long  
 a period. During the forty years that he sat in the ca-  
 binet of Elizabeth, he was "her spirit," as she termed  
 him, the oracle that she consulted on every emergency,  
 and whose answers she generally obeyed. He has left be-  
 hind him a voluminous mass of papers, his own composi-  
 tion, the faithful index of his head and heart. They bear  
 abundant testimony to his habits of application and bu-  
 siness, to the extent and variety of his correspondence,  
 and to the solicitude with which he watched the conduct,  
 and anticipated the designs of both foreign and domestic  
 enemies,—but it is difficult to discern in them a trace of  
 original genius, of lofty and generous feeling, or of en-  
 lightened views and commanding intellect. In common  
 with the statesmen of his age, he made expediency the  
 polar star of his policy; and it must be admitted that few  
 men have ever equalled him in the facility with which he  
 created resources and discovered expedients, or the so-  
 phistry with which, on the spur of the occasion, he could  
 cajole, or excuse, or mislead. Aware of his ingenuity, the  
 queen was not without suspicion that he might practise  
 upon herself the same arts by which he successfully cir-  
 cumvented others; and hence it happened that she

\* Camden, 772. Birch, 385—393. Neg. 183. Cabala, 234.

treated him occasionally with neglect, occasionally with severity. But such clouds quickly passed away: to relieve herself from trouble, she had recourse again to his counsels; and, in gratitude for his services, shielded him from the insidious attacks of his rivals, both the favourites who sought to remove him out of the way of their own aggrandizement, and the ancient nobility who looked down on the new man with scorn and vexation. By the long possession of office he was able to place himself, in point of wealth, on a par with the richest of the land; and after his decease his ashes were honoured with the tears of his sovereign. But, though the "old fox" was gone, he left behind him at court his younger son, sir Robert Cecil, who, walking in the footsteps of his father, gradually supplanted every competitor, and became so necessary to the queen, that long before her death she made him, in opposition perhaps to her own feelings, the chief depository of the royal authority.

The same year was distinguished by a most extraordinary prosecution for the crime of treason. Among those who had followed Essex to Tercera was a private soldier named Squires, lately returned from a prison in Spain. Soon after the troops were disbanded, one Stanley arrived in England, and accused Squires, before the earl of Essex and sir Robert Cecil, of a design to poison the queen. At first he loudly maintained his innocence, but, when he had been five hours on the rack, he confessed that at Seville, Walpole, a jesuit, had solicited him to commit the crime, had furnished him for that purpose with a most powerful poison, and had instructed him in the manner of employing it; and that, on his return to England, he had rubbed part of the poison into the pommel of the saddle on which the queen rode, and the other part into the chair in which Essex was accustomed to sit, with the expectation that in both cases it would have produced death. It is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous or incredible tale: yet it brought the unhappy man to the scaffold. At his trial

one of the counsel for the crown represented with great pathos the danger of Elizabeth: but his feelings grew too big for utterance; he burst into a flood of tears, and was compelled to sit down. The next who rose was more successful. His task was to describe her wonderful escape from the venom on the saddle. It was as evidently a miracle as any recorded in holy writ: "For albeit the season was hot, and the veins open to receive any malignant tainture, yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand no more hurt than Paul's did when he shook off the viper into the fire\*." The prisoner in his defence said that, while he was on the rack, he had confessed anything which he thought would satisfy the commissioners and relieve him from torture: the truth was that Walpole had proposed the murder to him, but that he had never consented to it, nor even employed poison for that purpose. Here one of the judges informed him that on his own showing he had been guilty of concealment of treason; and sir Robert Cecil prevailed on him once more to confess the charge. He received judgment, and suffered the punishment of a traitor; but died asserting both his own innocence and that of Walpole, with his last breath†.

Nov.  
23.

Before I conclude this chapter I may advert to the conduct of the king of Scotland in the novel and extraordinary situation in which he found himself placed by the death of Mary, and the caprice or policy of Elizabeth. On the one hand the English queen had not fulfilled any of the promises made to him during the year 1588. She refused to admit his right to the succession; she excluded him from the inheritance of his father in Eng-

\* Ellis. 2 ser. iii. 189.

† Camden, 779, and Speed, 1183. On this extraordinary plot see note (Q) at the end. It would appear that Squires and Stanley were both impostors. When Stanley was asked why he had accused Squires, he replied that the Spanish ministers, supposing that the assassin had deceived them, had, through revenge, hired him to give information of the treason. He was then put on the rack, and made to confess that he himself had been sent by Christoval de Mora to shoot the queen. See Cecil's letter in Birch, Negotiations, 184, 185.

land; she interfered in the internal concerns of his kingdom, intrigued with his subjects, and gave support to his rebels. She continued to treat him as she had treated Mary, though he had not given offence either by the assumption of her title, or by the profession of a hostile faith. By James her unkindness was attributed to the malice and influence of the Cecils, who, having brought his mother to the block, feared that he might avenge her blood on their heads, if ever he should ascend the throne. In their hands was his chief competitor, Arabella Stuart, whose claim they might at any moment set up in opposition to his own. He proposed to marry her to the duke of Lennox, and to acknowledge that nobleman his presumptive heir. But Elizabeth refused; and the refusal added to the distrust and perplexity of the Scottish king\*.

On the other hand James had equal reason to fear the hostility of the catholic powers, the ambition of Philip, and the intrigues of the Spanish faction both at home and abroad. By all these he was charged with pusillanimity for his tame acquiescence in the murder of his mother, with apostacy on account of his preference of the reformed doctrines to the faith of his fathers. To have betrayed the least partiality towards that faith would, by uniting against him the protestants of both kingdoms, infallibly have extinguished his hopes: at the same time to provoke the hostility of the catholics was to involve himself in difficulty and danger. They formed in England and Scotland a numerous and powerful party; and the knowledge that his mother had left her right to the succession to the disposal of the pope and the king of Spain, unless her son should embrace the catholic faith, would tend to loosen their attachment to the Scottish line. The bequest itself was, indeed, devoid of force: but he was aware that, in the event of in-

\* Winwood, i. 4. Birch, i. 84. Bartoli, 448. Strype, iv. 102. 106. Father Gordon had formed a plot to get her out of England. Birch, ii. 307. Strype, iv. 102.

vasion, or during the expected struggle for the crown after the death of Elizabeth, it might be brought forward in opposition to his claim, and would probably produce a strong sensation in favour of his competitor.

It has been thought that James in these circumstances formed no fixed plan of conduct, but allowed himself to be carried along by the current of events, without any compass by which he might guide, or any certain point to which he might direct, his course. To me, however, he seems to have pursued uniformly the same policy, distrusting equally the English queen and the catholic powers, and seeking equally to propitiate them both. To both he made similar promises of friendship; from both he solicited pecuniary aid; and, if either objected to him his connexion with the other, he always pleaded in his defence the hard necessity to which he was reduced.

After the death of Mary the earls of Huntley, Angus, Errol, and other catholic lords, treated on several occasions with the pope and the Spanish court, through the agency of the Scottish jesuits Gordon, Tyrie, and Creighton. Their object was to avenge, with the aid of Philip, the execution of their queen, and to obtain, if not the re-establishment, at least the toleration, of the catholic worship in Scotland; but on condition that the independence and liberties of the realm should be preserved, that no ecclesiastical censure should be issued against James, and that his right to the English crown should remain unimpaired. Their intrigues were often discovered by the English agents abroad, and as often communicated by Elizabeth to the king. He always expressed the highest indignation against the earls: but his deeds did not correspond with his threats; years elapsed, repeated embassies were sent, and the kirk remonstrated and threatened, before James could be persuaded to punish the conspirators. At length they were compelled to leave Scotland: but even then he would not permit the sentence of forfeiture to be exe-

cuted against them. His apathy scandalized the zealots and irritated Elizabeth : but it may be satisfactorily explained, if we believe the assertions of the earls, that they acted sometimes with his permission, often with his connivance ; and that he was unwilling to destroy a party, the existence of which was necessary to preserve him from falling under the absolute control of the English queen, and of her adherents in the kirk and state\*.

The publication of "the conference respecting the succession" had excited new alarms in the mind of James. The doctrine that the profession of heresy was a sufficient ground of exclusion was evidently pointed against him ; and the preference given to the pretensions of the infanta of Spain showed that it was intended to set her up for his rival. He appointed Ogilvy, a catholic baron, his envoy to the catholic powers. At Venice, Florence, and Rome, Ogilvy contented himself<sup>1595.</sup> with asserting that his sovereign was ready, in imitation<sup>Nov.</sup> of the king of France, to study the catholic faith ; and<sup>1596.</sup> with pointing out the dangers which threatened the<sup>Jan.</sup> liberties of Europe, if Philip were permitted to annex<sup>Feb.</sup> England to his extensive dominions†. In Spain he<sup>May</sup> adopted another course, and attempted to negotiate a<sup>and</sup> most important treaty with the ministers of the catholic<sup>June.</sup> king. He represented James as actuated with the desire of revenging the injuries offered to him by the queen of England ; promised in his name that he would declare war against her, would embrace the catholic faith, would re-establish it within his dominions, would supply Philip with a levy of ten thousand Scottish mer-

\* Camden, 656. 669. Winwood, i. 11. 13. Rymer, xvi. 190—199. et seq. Birch, i. 109. 215. 216. Strype, iv. 110. They found that James was so pusillanimous that he always deserted them when it came to the trial. "Rex est pusillanimus," says Creighton in a letter to Tyrie, Dec. 14, 1594. "et quamvis tempore pacifico sit bonus, tamen in talibus tempestatibus est animo prorsus consternato." Ibid.

† See D'Ossat, Lettres, i. 221—224. The duke of Sessa's account of these negotiations was intercepted (ibid. 293) ; and having been forwarded to England has been published by Birch, i. 497—418.

cenaries, and would send, as a pledge of his sincerity, his son to be educated in the Spanish court; but on condition that the king should not pretend for himself, or for any other in his right, to the succession to the English crown; should grant to James a subsidy of 500,000 ducats to begin the war; and should aid him with an army of 12,000 men. But it had been observed that, on his arrival in Flanders, the envoy had consulted with Paget and his friends, known among the exiles by the name of the politicians; and this circumstance, exciting the suspicion of the opposite party, induced them to oppose his endeavours in the Spanish court. They disputed the authenticity of his credentials; threw doubts on his religion and his veracity; and declared that James had on so many occasions deceived the catholic lords and catholic sovereigns that no reliance was to be placed on his words. In conclusion Philip dismissed the envoy with expressions of good will towards his sovereign, and with a valuable present for himself\*.

James, however, was not discouraged. He was aware that the Spanish party, in furtherance of their design, had urged the pontiff to issue a declaration against him, on the ground of heresy; and to oppose their intrigues he despatched Drummond on a mission to the court of  
 Sept. 23. Rome. This envoy was the bearer of a letter, in which the king expressed his gratitude to Clement, who had refused to listen to the suggestions of his enemies; observed that mutual benefit might arise from the permanent residence of a Scottish minister in the papal court; and for this purpose solicited the dignity of cardinal for the bishop of Vaison, a native of Scotland†. In addition he gave to Drummond verbal instructions. What they were we know not. Two points only have been disclosed; that he should solicit an annual subsidy for the payment of a guard about the royal person, and that he should offer to intrust the castle of Edinburgh to the

\* Winwood, i. 1—14. 52.

† See the original letter in Rushworth, i. 166.

custody of the catholics, and to dispose of the young prince of Scotland as the pope might think proper\*.

It was not, however, long before these intrigues reached the ear of Elizabeth. She ordered sir Thomas Brunkard to reproach the king with his duplicity: he affected the utmost surprise, and protested that he was wholly ignorant of the proceedings. Ogilvy and Drummond were examined and committed, the former to the castle of Edinburgh, the latter to the house of his mother; and the Scottish minister at the English court was ordered to complain of the queen's jealousy, and to require from her the proofs of the charge, that the prisoners might be brought to trial, and receive punishment, if it should be proved that they were guilty. We know of no further proceedings; and it is probable that the king, for his own honour, was careful to protract, or suspend, the inquiry till the death of Elizabeth †.

There was another subject which contributed to widen the breach between the two princes. In 1598, Valentine Thomas, a prisoner on the charge of felony, privately confessed that he had been hired by the king of Scots to murder the queen. This avowal was received with surprise and horror. Valentine was repeatedly examined: his depositions were embodied in the form of an indictment; and a true bill was found by the grand jury of the county. Elizabeth now communicated the fact to

\* From Rushworth it is plain that Drummond received verbal instructions: that these proposals were parts of them appears from Brunkard's charge in Birch, i. 420.

† Birch, *ibid.* Cecil a priest, and one of the Spanish party, who opposed Ogilvy in Spain, on some cause of discontent went over to Paget and the politicians, and became a correspondent of the earl of Essex. There is reason to believe that he communicated to the English government the copies of Ogilvy's negotiation in Spain. Compare Winwood, i. 52, 103, with Birch, i. 253 407. ii. 306. From these and the intercepted despatches of the duke of Sessa, Elizabeth had sufficient evidence as far as regarded Ogilvy. Neither can there be any doubt respecting the mission of Drummond. Bellarmine published the letter of James; and, to excuse the king, Balmerino his secretary confessed that he had sent it without the royal warrant. He lost his office; but retained an ample fortune and the royal favour. That Creighton was also employed on the same mission as Drummond, appears from an original letter in the possession of the Rev. G. Oliver, to whose industry and research we owe the "History of Exeter, and Historic Collections relative to the Monasteries in Devon."



James, with an assurance that she did not believe him capable of so atrocious a crime. The Scottish monarch at first treated the charge with silence and contempt: but, fearing that it might afterwards be urged as an objection to his claim to the crown, requested his good sister to send him an attestation of its falsehood under the great seal. The queen complied: but he had no sooner read the instrument than he returned it, saying that it was so worded as to appear rather a pardon of 1599. guilt than a declaration of innocence. Elizabeth com-  
**May.** plained of this conduct as an insult: recrimination followed recrimination; but it was not for the interest of either party to come to an open rupture; and after mutual remonstrances the matter was suffered to remain dormant \*. The charge, however, sunk deep into the mind of James. He considered it as a convincing proof of the hostility of Cecil; and probably suspected, as the trial of Valentine was only suspended during his good behaviour †, that it was but the first step taken to exclude him from the succession.

\* Camden, 791. Rym. xvi. 358. 373—378.

† “We have stayed his arraignment; and will do, so long as the king shall give no cause to the contrary, whereof you may assure him.”  
 Ibid. 357. When James came to the throne, he ordered his accuser to be hanged. Camden, *Annales Jacobi*, 2.

## CHAPTER VII.

**Transactions in Ireland—Administration of Perrot—His trial and death—Rebellion of Tyrone—His victory at Blackwater—Essex lord deputy—His disobedience of the queen's orders—Conference with Tyrone—Return to England—Imprisonment and trial in the star-chamber—His attempt to raise the city—His failure, trial, and condemnation—His death and character—Opposition to monopolies—Victories of Mountjoy in Ireland—Submission of Tyrone—Secret understanding between James of Scotland and Cecil—Declining health and low spirits of the queen—Her last sickness and death—Her character.**

IN Ireland the lord Grey, by his cruelty and rapacity, 1584, had earned the hatred of all descriptions of people. He was replaced by sir John Perrot, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII.; a man equally severe, but strictly impartial, who made no distinction between the English or the Irishman, but inflicted punishment on all offenders, according to their demerits. During his administration, the late earl of Desmond was attainted by parliament, and the lands comprised within 1586. his earldom, amounting to almost 600,000 acres, were forfeited to the crown. It had long been the wish of the queen to colonize Ireland from England. Hitherto she had been deterred by consideration of the expense: now, however, Desmond's lands were granted to English settlers; and most of the royal favourites obtained ample districts, on the condition that one family should be settled on every 240 acres; and that no native of Irish origin should be admitted among the new colonists. But it was difficult both for the crown to enforce, and for the grantees to fulfil these conditions. The number of acres planted did not amount to one half of the country; and among the settlers was a considerable number of the

former inhabitants, who, rather than abandon the place of their birth, consented to hold of foreigners the lands which had descended to them from their progenitors.

- Perrot had reduced Ireland to a state of tranquillity hitherto unknown in its annals. The indigenous Irish, observing the severity with which he punished the injuries inflicted on them by the English adventurers, looked up to him as their friend; but those who suffered from his justice sought to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. His hasty temper occasionally betrayed him into unseemly expressions; his words, his actions, and his friendships were misinterpreted and misrepresented; and Elizabeth began to doubt his loyalty, and to think him capable of seeking a kingdom for himself. Worn out with insults and opposition he solicited
1588. his revocation; and on his return was admitted into the council in England. For some years the queen's jealousy seemed to sleep: but Perrot had spoken irreverently not only of her, but also of her "dancing"
1591. chancellor; the revenge of Hatton awakened her sus-  
 Mar. picions; and in 1591 a secret inquiry was made into the conduct of the late deputy during his authority in Ireland. The men whose excesses he had repressed and punished eagerly supplied materials for his ruin; and the unfortunate Perrot was arraigned in Westminster hall, on a charge of high treason. The principal
- April 17. witnesses were Williams, formerly his secretary, O'Regan, an Irish priest, who having conformed and married, had been employed by him as a spy\*, and Walton, a stranger, of disreputable character. As far as their evidence went to show, that he had favoured the catholic clergy, negotiated with the duke of Parma and the Spaniards, and secretly encouraged the insurrections of the O'Ruaires and the Burkes, it was undeserving of credit: but he could not deny, that in moments of irritation, when he

\* For his services on this trial he received a pension of 40*l.* per annum. Camden, 647. Murdin, 799.

found his plans for the melioration of Ireland rejected by his enemies in the Irish council, and these supported against him by their friends in the English cabinet, he had let fall expressions highly disrespectful to the queen and her advisers. That he was innocent of treason, there cannot be a doubt: yet he was found guilty, and <sup>June</sup> two months later received judgment of death. His son <sup>16</sup> had married the sister of Essex; whose influence in his favour was balanced by the powerful combination of his enemies. For six months his fate was kept in suspense; but a broken heart, or a poisonous potion, deprived him of life. He died in the Tower; an instance, says Camden, how difficult it is for a prince to forgive the wounds inflicted by a slanderous tongue\*.

Among the native Irish who had distinguished themselves in the war against the earl of Desmond, was Hugh the son of the late baron of Dungannon. His services <sup>1585.</sup> had merited the approbation of the lord Grey, and he had been rewarded by the queen, first with the earldom of Tyrone, and afterwards with all the rights and lands, which his grandfather Conn had formerly possessed. To this title of English origin he soon added, without her consent, another which rendered him far more respectable in the eyes of the natives. On the death of Tirlough Lynnoagh, he proclaimed himself the O'Neil, <sup>1593.</sup> and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. It would fatigue the reader to listen to the suspicions entertained of his fidelity, and his contrary protestations of loyalty; to examine the charges brought against him by the English governors, and their acts of violence alleged by him in justification of his conduct; to notice the temporary hostilities, the repeated truces, the illusory negotiations, which occupied the time, and perplexed the judgment, of several succeeding deputies. *He* required liberty of conscience; they replied that such liberty was dis-

\* State Trials, 1315—1334. Camden, 645—647. Perrot's testament is in Hearn's Camden, 922—927.

honourable to God: he demanded the enjoyment of the rights possessed by his grandfather; they curtailed them to diminish his power and resources. The queen, whose attention was absorbed by the transactions on the continent, bore with impatience the very mention of Ireland. It was a kingdom which brought her nothing but expense and vexation\*; nor did she blame the O'Neil so much as the interested policy of her officers, who (so she suspected) sought to carve out fortunes for themselves by driving the natives into rebellion. Hence she wished to extricate herself from the contest with Tyrone, provided she could do it with honour. She listened to his apologies, gave credit to his protestations, and instead of reinforcing her army, ordered her generals to negotiate a peace. If we may believe them, it was the object of Tyrone to procrastinate the war, till he could receive the succours which he had solicited from the pope and the king of Spain. If we give credit to him, he was sincere but cautious; he was content to live the subject of Elizabeth, but would not submit to be trampled 1598. into the dust by the oppression of her officers. After Aug. many alternations of peace and war, of victory and 14. defeat, a decisive battle was fought near the fort of Blackwater in Tyrone. Bagnal, the English commander-in-chief, with 1500 of his followers, was slain; the artillery, the ammunition, and the fortress itself fell into the hands of the enemy. The O'Neil was celebrated in every district as the saviour of his country; and the whole of the indigenous population with many of the chieftains of English origin, rose in arms to assert the national independence†.

When the state of Ireland was debated in the council,

\* This was the opinion of many, "esteeming bothe Calaves and Ireland rather a burden and a charge: and therefore do thinke it fit to leave them bothe, but for this onely respect; that where Ireland hath very good tymbre and convenient havens, yf the Spaigniard might be master of them, he wold in short space be master of the sease." Lodge, ii. 231.

† Camden, 688. 708. 715. 755. 783. Birch, i. 379. ii. 76. 273. 394. Sydney papers, i. 351. 362. ii. 84. Lodge, iii. 66.

Essex, by his objections to the appointment of every other person, was supposed to betray his wish to obtain, though he scorned to solicit, the office of lord deputy. His enemies, eager to remove him from court, sought to gratify his ambition; and the queen was induced, though it cost her a long struggle, to grant all his demands. To the remission of a debt of 8000*l.* was added <sup>1599.</sup> a present of almost thrice that sum; the army, to be <sup>Mar.</sup> placed under his command, was fixed at 18,000 men, comprising the best levies in the counties, and some of the veteran companies in the Netherlands; and his commission invested him with privileges never enjoyed by his predecessors, the power of pardoning all crimes and treasons without exception, and of concluding peace, or continuing the war, according to his discretion\*. Even his instructions were drawn in conformity with his own suggestion, that he should in the first place proceed with his whole disposable force against Tyrone, and reduce, if it were possible, the province of Ulster, the great focus of the rebellion. To superficial observers he appeared to have regained his former place in the royal favour; and even the queen at his departure had dismissed him with expressions of kindness. But her mind was still prejudiced against him; some of his officers received orders to transmit to her faithful reports of his conduct; and his adversaries in the council smiled at the alacrity with which he precipitated himself into the snare which had been laid for his destruction. His first act, after his arrival in Ire-<sup>Apr</sup>land, was in direct contradiction to the royal will. <sup>17</sup> Elizabeth had forbidden him to give the command of the cavalry to his friend the earl of Southampton, who, by marrying in opposition to her pleasure, had incurred her dislike. Essex asked if she meant to revoke the powers specified in his commission. The queen made no reply; but the moment she heard that Southampton

\* Bacon's Works, iii. 127, 129. 142. Sydney Papers, ii. 146.

had been named to the office, she ordered him to be July removed. Essex remonstrated with spirit, and it re-  
 11. quired a second and more peremptory letter before he would obey\*.

But at this moment the royal attention was diverted 1598. from Ireland by the alarm of invasion. In 1598 Philip  
 Sept. of Spain had been succeeded on the throne by his son  
 13. of the same name, but of abilities far inferior to those of his father. The ministers of the new king, anxious to put an end to hostilities, which had inflicted severe wounds on the commerce of their country, and aware of the parsimony of the English queen, sought to incline her to peace, by driving her into extraordinary expense. She was informed that the adelantado had again prepared a formidable armament at Corunna; next, that he had sailed; and lastly, that he had crossed the bay of Biscay, and had been actually seen near the coast of Bretagne. The usual precautions were immediately taken: one army was ordered to be raised for the defence of the royal person, and another to oppose the invaders; and the earl of Nottingham was ap-  
 Aug. pointed commander-in-chief of all the forces†. At the  
 5. same time the queen, apprehensive that Essex might return to make a tender of his services, forbade him to quit his charge in Ireland without a warrant under her own hand. Soon, however, the alarm subsided. The adelantado had indeed sailed, but his fleet divided itself into two squadrons; the larger proceeded to the Canaries in quest of the Hollanders, the other, consisting only of six galleys, directed its course towards England, and, to the surprise of the public, passed unobserved through the Channel, and anchored safely in the waters of Sluys‡.

\* Birch, ii. 421. 423.

† Camden represents the real object of these preparations to have been to prevent the earl from bringing over the Irish army to England, for the purpose of driving his enemies from court (Camden, 797); but it is plain, from Winwood's Memorials, that the alarm actually existed. See Winwood, 88. 91. 92. 95. Also the Sydney Papers, ii. 112, 113

‡ Winwood, 103. Camden, 802.

Essex had gone to Ireland for the express purpose of marching against Tyrone: yet, contrary to the expectation even of his enemies, he proceeded towards Munster, penetrated as far as Limerick, and, taking Cork May and Waterford in his way, returned by the coast to Dublin. The reduction of two castles, and the feigned submission of three native chieftains, formed the sum of his exploits; and, if he magnified the importance of these advantages in his despatches, he was at the same time compelled to own that three months of the summer season had been consumed, and that his army had dwindled away by desertion, disease, and the casualties of war\*. But the queen would listen to no apology: his demand of reinforcements only inflamed her anger, and he received a peremptory order to undertake the promised expedition. About the end of August, with only three thousand men, a force inadequate to its object, he met Tyrone on the banks of the Brenny. Instead of fighting, the two chieftains conversed together in private: the next day a more public conference was held; and an armistice was concluded, to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, on condition that the lord deputy should transmit to the queen the several demands of the O'Neil. Of these the most important were, that the catholic worship should be tolerated; that the chief governor should be an earl with the title of viceroy; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives; that the O'Neil, O'Donnel, Desmond, and their associates, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last two hundred years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives†.

This termination of the campaign, so contrary to his promises, completed the ruin of the earl in the mind of

\* The journal of this expedition is in Birch, ii. 398, and Nugæ Ant. 268. His excuse was, that it would be dangerous to march into Ulster before there was a certainty of fine weather, in the month of June. Winwood, i. 40.

† Winwood, 118. 137. Nugæ Ant. 293. 301, 302.



his sovereign. If the disappointment of her hopes revived her resentment, her ignorance of what had passed between him and Tyrone in their private interview provoked a suspicion of his loyalty. He might perhaps seek only to perpetuate his command by protracting the war; but it was also possible that his ambition might aspire to obtain the crown of Ireland, through the aid of the O'Neil\*. Essex, however, did not allow her time to brood over these thoughts. To her astonishment, on the morning of Michaelmas-eve, just after she had risen, but before she was dressed, the door of her bed-chamber opened, and she beheld Essex himself on his knees at her feet. He begged of her to pardon the intrusion, to attribute it to zeal for her service, which had brought him from Ireland to lay before her the true state of that kingdom. Elizabeth knew not whether to be angry or pleased. She gave him her hand to kiss, and he retired with a cheerful countenance, observing to his friends that, though he had met with many storms abroad, he had found a perfect calm at home. About noon he was admitted to an audience, and indulged in the same delusion: but in the evening the tempest burst upon his head. He was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his room, and within a few days was delivered to the lord-keeper, to be kept in free custody under his charge†.

The sudden return of Essex had been occasioned by an angry letter from the queen, which he attributed to the envious suggestions of his rivals. His first plan was to embark a body of 2000 cavalry, to land on the coast of Wales, to hasten to London, and to drive his

\* Bacon, iii 145, 146.

† Winwood, 113. Sydney papers, ii. 127—130, 131. Camden, 796. Bacon, iii. 121. A prisoner was said to be in free custody when he was permitted to remain in a private house, under the charge of a person who was responsible for his appearance. The degree of indulgence in these cases was regulated by the council; but, whether he were confined to his chamber, or had the liberty of the whole house, or were permitted to take the air to a certain distance, he was always under the eye of a keeper, appointed by the council, or by the person to whose custody he had been committed.

political antagonists from the court. But he abandoned this dangerous expedient by the persuasion of his friend the earl of Southampton, and of Christopher Blount, formerly the supposed paramour, now the husband, of his mother; and consented, in imitation of the late earl of Leicester, to endeavour, by his unexpected appearance at court, to disconcert the intrigues of his enemies\*. But Elizabeth did not allow the same artifice to succeed a second time. Her obstinacy had grown with her age; and an opinion prevailed that her passion was kept alive by the representations of sir Robert Cecil, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their associates†. She vented it on all who had accompanied the earl. "When I came into her presence," says sir John Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and, I remember, caught at my girdle, when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By G—d's Son I am no queen. That man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' She bid me go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made better speed‡."

But without the precincts of the court the public voice fearlessly declared itself in his favour. Men openly pitied his misfortune, and condemned the blind severity of the queen; his vindication was published in sermons from the pulpit, and in pamphlets from the press; several ministers had the boldness to pray for him by

\* State Trials, 1415.

† Camden, 799, 800. Whyte, in his letters, on two or three occasions, represents Cecil as favourable (Sydney Pap. 204. 213.). Yet he owns that Cecil refused to be reconciled, though he promised to show no malice (ibid. 136.); and Essex repeatedly numbers him among his enemies. Camd. 832, 837, 838, 852.

‡ *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 354. Harrington had received a hint to keep a journal of the proceedings in Ireland. The queen now demanded to see it. After she had heard it read, "she swore by G—d's Son we were all idle knaves, and the lord deputy worse, for wasting our time and her commands in such wise as my journal doth write of." Ibid.

name in their churches; and even within the palace libels on his supposed enemies were found scattered on the floors, and affixed to the walls. Alarmed by these indications of the public feeling, the earl of Nottingham and sir Robert Cecil assumed to themselves the merit of mitigating the royal displeasure. But the anger of Elizabeth was inexorable; and her desire of vengeance was sharpened by every interposition in his favour\*. If she condescended to say that she sought "his amendment and not his destruction," it was not till she had consulted the judges, and had learned, to her disappointment, that he could not be charged with high treason. Still the solicitations of his friends were rejected; his offers of submission were requited with expressions of contempt; nor could his relations, not even his countess, obtain access to his prison. Anxiety of mind produced indisposition of body: but experience had taught the queen that such ailments were generally feigned, and she at first refused to allow her physician to see the patient. When, however, she was assured that there was little probability of his life, she began to relent; she even sent him a mess of broth from her own hand; and added, with tears in her eyes, that she would have visited him herself, if it had not been inconsistent with her honour. The earl, like Wolsey, was recalled to life by the hope of repossessing the royal favour; and the queen, like her father, relapsed into her former antipathy in proportion as the sick man recovered†.

In this manner the fate of Essex occupied for several

\* At this time Hayward, a civilian, published his history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to Essex, with expressions of high esteem for his character. The queen ordered him to be imprisoned, and inquired of Bacon, whether the offence of Hayward did not amount to high treason? Afterwards she persuaded herself that Hayward was only the publisher, and wished him to be racked that he might discover the real author. "Nay, madam," said Bacon, "he is a doctor. Never rack his person, but rack his style. Let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and continue the story where it braketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he be the author or not." Cabala, 81.

† Sydney Pap. ii. 146—159.

months the attention of the court. Elizabeth revolved in her mind a variety of plans: each was successively approved and rejected; and the earl, though he obtained permission to be confined in his own house, saw no prospect of a favourable result. At last the rashness of his sister, the lady Rich, who had circulated copies of a letter written by her to the queen\*, provoked Elizabeth, in her own vindication, to bring him to a private trial before a court of eighteen commissioners, empowered to pass "censure," but not judgment, on the prisoner. In June 1600. presence of this singular and unconstitutional tribunal, composed of men, his political rivals and enemies, Essex appeared on his knees, with his papers in his hat lying before him on the floor. The proceedings lasted eleven hours. After a considerable time permission was granted to him, at the suggestion of the archbishop, to rise and stand; later in the day he was suffered to support himself by leaning against a cupboard; and towards the conclusion he was indulged with a seat without a back. The crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, Flemming, and the man that owed his own preferment to the friendship of Essex, Francis Bacon, exerted all their powers of rhetoric in exaggeration of his offence. He had neglected to prosecute the war against Tyrone, had submitted to a disgraceful interview and treaty with that rebel, and had returned to England in defiance of the royal prohibition. Once only did the earl lose the command of his temper, when he repelled with bitter scorn the imputation of treason thrown out by sir Edward Coke: to the other charges he replied by pleading guilty, but contending that they were errors of the head, not of the heart. Each commissioner severally pronounced his own indi-

\* Her letter began thus: "Early did I hope this morning to have had mine eyes blessed with your majesty's beauty;" and ends with these words: "let your majesty's divine power be no more eclipsed than your beauty, which hath shined throughout all the world; and imitate the Deity, not destroying those that trust in your mercy." Birch, ii. 443. These passages show what kind of flattery was believed to have the most influence with the queen. Her celestial beauty had then "shined throughout all the world" during no less a space than sixty-seven years.

vidual "censure," or opinion respecting the guilt of the prisoner, and the punishment which he deserved: the queen received their report, and it was resolved that Essex should be sequestered from the exercise of every office which he held by patent, and should remain a prisoner at the royal pleasure\*. Elizabeth's anger was now mollified: she persuaded herself that she had not only broken the proud spirit of her fallen favourite, but had convinced the world, by the censure of the court, that she had not punished him beyond his deserts. Yet, as often as she was solicited to show him favour, something infallibly happened to revive her displeasure, unpleasant intelligence from Ireland, or the pretensions of the knights whom he had made during the campaign, or, as was believed, the secret misrepresentations of the courtiers, who gave themselves out to the public as his friends. With respect to the earl himself, he devoted his time to exercises of religion, declaring that the tears of his repentance had quenched the fire of his ambition, that he had made an eternal divorce from the world, and that, if he still desired the royal favour, it was not for any earthly object, but merely that he might quit this life in peace with one whom he revered as the image of the Almighty. Elizabeth began to look with an eye of compassion on the repentant sinner: she ordered his keeper to be removed; a month later she granted him permission to leave his house at his pleasure; but when he solicited the favour of being admitted once only to her presence, a scornful refusal was returned, with an admonition that he was not yet free from her "indignation," but must consider himself a prisoner under the charge of his own discretion†.

July

3.

Aug.

26.

\* Moryson's Itinerary, part ii. 63. 74. Sydney Pap. ii. 187—206. Camden, 828—830.

† Bacon, iii. 152. State Trials, 1419. Winwood, 250. 254. Sydney Pap. 206—216. It was probably about this time that Raleigh (Murdin, 812) wrote to sir Robert Cecil, advising him "not to relent towards the tyrant." The contents of the letter show that the date of 1601 on the back is a mistake.

The submission and contrition so recently manifested by Essex were, however, but a mask, under which he covered the turbulent workings of his passions\*. On his commitment, his friends, particularly the earl of Southampton and the lord Mountjoy, apprehensive for his life, had earnestly laboured to effect his escape. Southampton even offered to be the companion of his flight, and the partaker of his fortunes in a foreign realm. But Essex resolutely replied that he would never condescend to live in exile; he would either recover his former greatness, or perish in the attempt†.

Of the different projects which had offered themselves to his mind, the most flattering, both to his pride and resentment, was that from which he had been dissuaded in Ireland, the forcible seizure of the royal person, and the banishment of his enemies from the council. With this view he now solicited the co-operation of the king of Scots, and of Mountjoy, who had reluctantly accepted the dangerous office of deputy in Ireland. If that nobleman gave, he soon recalled, his assent. He was willing to risk his life to save that of his friend; but the necessity had ceased; and, since his trial, Essex was no longer in danger of dying by the axe of the executioner‡. The earl bore the disappointment with patience: but at Michaelmas his monopoly of sweet wines expired, and Sept. 29. his petition for a renewal of the lease was eluded by the queen, who replied that she would first inquire into its annual value; that, when horses became unmanageable,

\* "My lord of Essex shyfeth from sorrowe and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenlie, as well provethe him devoide of goode reason "as righte mynde. In my laste discourse, he uttered strange wordes "borderinge on suche strange desygns, that made me hasten forthe and "leave his presence. Thank heaven! I am sate at home, and if I go in "suche troubles againe, I deserve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole. "His speeches of the queene become the no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hathe ill advysers, and muche evyll hathe sprunge "from thys source. The Queene well knowethe how to humble the "haughtie spirit; the haughtie spirit knoweth not how to yeld, and the "man's soule seemeth tosse'de to and fro, like the waves of a troubled "sea." Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 179.

† Birch, ii. 470.

‡ Ibid. 471.

**Nov.** it was usual to tame their spirit by stinting them in the  
**2.** quantity of their food. He petitioned a second time ;  
**17.** and she appointed a commission to conduct the monopoly  
 for her own benefit. He waited till the 17th of November, the anniversary of her coronation, when the courtiers were accustomed to crowd to her levee, to offer presents and addresses. On that day she received from Essex an humble and eloquent letter, well calculated to rekindle her affection, if a single spark were yet alive in her breast. This, in the shipwreck of his fortune, was the last plank to which he clung. It failed him. the letter remained unnoticed ; and the unfortunate earl abandoned himself to the suggestions of despair \*.

Hitherto he had lived in privacy and solitude : now the doors of Essex house were thrown open to every comer : his former dependants were summoned from the country ; and their number was recruited by the accession of bold and needy adventurers. At the same time he invited the most zealous among the puritan preachers, whose daily sermons drew crowds of fanatics around him ; and he proposed, to certain theologians, the question, whether it were not lawful, in the case of mal-administration, to compel a sovereign to govern according to law†. As another resource, by a trusty messenger he sent professions of his attachment to the king of Scotland, informing him that the earl of Nottingham, Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham, the faction which ruled at court, were leagued to place the Spanish infant on the throne at the death of the queen ; advised him to require the immediate recognition of his right to the succession ; and promised on the arrival of the ambas-

\* Winwood, i. 271. Birch, ii. 462.

† "The Earle of Essex is now altogether at his howse near temple barr in no favour as yet with her Majestie but growing againe to wonted popularity, by beyng often visited by many of the nobility, as therles of Worcester, Southampton, Sussex, Rutland, Bedford and others, with many capitaines and cavaliers, and the whole pack of Puritanes, inso-much as now it is thought bothe the Queene and Mr. Secretary stand in some awe of hym, and would make hym surer if they durst." Private letter, Jan. 13.

sadors to risk his life and fortune in defence of the house of Stuart. James, who had long distrusted the intentions of the secretary, received the offer with pleasure, and resolved to despatch two envoys to England, ostensibly on a mission to the English queen, but in reality to assure the earl of his approbation and support\*.

To elude suspicion, the principal of the conspirators were accustomed to assemble at Drury house, the residence of the earl of Southampton. Thence they communicated by writing with Essex, and discussed the several plans which he suggested. That which appeared least objectionable was, that they should proceed in force to the palace, that sir Christopher Blount with his party should take possession of the gate, sir John Davis of the great chamber, and sir Charles Davers of the guard; and that the earl, with certain noblemen, should throw himself on his knees before the queen, and refuse to rise till she had granted his petition. Nothing, however, was finally determined; and, while he waited with impatience for the answer of the king of Scots, he was precipitated into a new course by the vigilance of the ministers, whose suspicions had been excited by the concourse of people at Essex house, and whose fears were now confirmed by a secret communication from sir Henry Neville. To secretary Herbert, who brought the earl an order to appear before the council, he replied that he was too unwell to leave his apartment: in a few minutes he received a note from an unknown writer, warning him to provide without delay for his own safety; and this was followed by intelligence that the guards had been doubled at the palace and in its neighbourhood. His only hope of success depended on expedition. During the night he despatched messengers to assemble his friends: on their arrival in the morning, he informed them that a plot

1601.  
Feb.  
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\* Birch, ii. 508, 509.



was laid for his life, and requested their company, while he proceeded to the queen, and solicited her protection against the malice of his enemies. It was Sunday: at ten in the forenoon the lord mayor, aldermen, and companies, would assemble at St. Paul's Cross; and he had determined to join them at the conclusion of the sermon, and to call on them to follow him to the palace. To a cool observer the experiment must have appeared hazardous and uncertain: but he was buoyed up with the belief of his own popularity, and the knowledge that a few years before the duke of Guise, in similar circumstances, had, with the aid of the Parisians, successfully braved the authority of his sovereign.

Feb 8. From the execution of this project he was diverted by an unexpected arrival. A little before ten he was told that Egerton, the lord keeper, the earl of Worcester, Knollys, the comptroller of the household, and the lord chief justice, stood at the gate, demanding admission. He gave orders that they should be introduced through the wicket, but that all their attendants, with the exception of the purse-bearer, should be excluded. Egerton demanded the cause of this tumultuary meeting; to whom Essex, raising his voice, replied, "There is a plot laid for my life: letters have been counterfeited in my name; and assassins have been appointed to murder me in bed. We are met to defend our lives; since my enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood." "If such be the case," said Popham, "let it be proved: we will relate it fairly; and the queen will do impartial justice." After the mention of impartial justice, the earl of Southampton complained of the assault made upon him by the lord Grey; but was told that the guilty party had suffered imprisonment for the offence\*. Egerton desired Essex to explain his griev-

\* In Ireland, Southampton had put Grey under arrest for one night, because he had charged the enemy without orders. This had occasioned several challenges, which had been defeated by the queen's violence. "Notwithstanding that they are commanded upon their allegiance not to meddle with each other, yet the last weeke the lo. Grey, with many of

ances in private : when several voices exclaimed, "They abuse you, my lord, they are undoing you. You lose your time." Egerton, turning round and putting on his cap, commanded in the queen's name every man to lay aside his arms and to depart. But Essex immediately entered the house ; the lords followed ; and the crowd shouted, " Kill them, keep them for pledges, throw the great seal out of the window." Having passed through two rooms, guarded by musketeers, they were introduced into a back parlour ; when the earl, desiring them to have patience for half an hour, ordered the door to be bolted, and intrusted his prisoners to the care of sir John Davis, sir Gilly Merrick, Francis Tresham, and Owen Salisbury.

Returning into the court, Essex drew his sword, rushed into the street, and was followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys and Mounteagle, and about eighty knights and gentlemen ; to whom were afterwards added, through friendship or fear, the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and about two hundred others. At Ludgate he prevailed on the guard to let him pass, protesting that his object was to save his life from the violence of lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their accomplices. But he found the streets empty : there was no meeting at St. Paul's Cross ; and the citizens, in consequence of orders from the lord mayor, remained quiet within their houses. The earl proceeded, shouting, " For the queen, my mistress !" till he arrived at the residence of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and, as he believed, his devoted partisan. But Smith was not to be found : his absence convinced the unfortunate nobleman of the failure of his plan ;

" his followers, drew in the strand upon the earle, who was on horseback  
 " with a footboy only by hym : his boy lost his hand, but therle defended  
 " hym selfe till clubbes came to succour hym ; for this fact, the Jo. Gry  
 " is committed prisoner to the fleete, and the said Earle of Southampton  
 " much commended." Jan. 13. See also Winwood, i. 47. 292.

and, unable to conceal his agitation, he retired to a private room, to compose his spirits.

At court the earl possessed so many friends, that the ministers knew not whom to trust. By their orders the guards were mustered; the gates of the palace were closed and fortified; and every passage in the neighbourhood was obstructed with chains and carriages. The queen alone had the boldness to talk of going in search of the insurgents. Not one of them would dare to meet a single glance of her eye; they would flee at the very notice of her approach. About two in the afternoon lord Burghley with a herald, and the earl of Cumberland with sir Thomas Gerard, ventured to enter the city in different quarters, and proclaimed Essex a traitor, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for his apprehension, and a full pardon to such of his associates as should immediately return to their duty. The earl had by this time left the house of sheriff Smith, with blasted hopes and diminished numbers. Lord Burghley retreated before him: but he was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate, and, returning to Queenhithe, proceeded by water, with fifty companions, to Essex house. Here his disappointment was converted into despair. The imprisoned lords, whom he had considered as hostages for his own safety, were gone. They had been liberated by the command of his confidant sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sought by this service to purchase his own pardon. As a last resource he began to fortify the house: in a few minutes it was surrounded by the royalists under the lord admiral. A parley ensued between sir Robert Sydney in the garden, and Essex and Southampton on the roof. The demands of the earls were refused: but a respite of two hours was granted, that the ladies and their female attendants might retire; and about six, when the battering train had arrived from the Tower, the summons was repeated. Lord Sandys proposed a desperate sally: they might either cut their way

through the enemy, or die, as brave men ought to die, with their swords in their hands. But Essex, who still cherished a hope of life, consented to surrender on the promise of a fair trial. That night the chief of the prisoners were lodged in Lambeth palace: the next morning they were conveyed to the Tower\*.

The preceding evening Thomas Lee, a soldier of fortune, had offered his services to sir Robert Cecil: four days later he was heard to say that, if the friends of Essex meant to save him from the block, they should petition for his pardon in a body, and refuse to depart till it had been granted. Sir Robert Cross communicated this remark to the secretary: orders were issued for the apprehension of Lee; and the pursuivants discovered him the same evening, in the crowd at the door of the presence chamber, during the queen's supper. In the morning he was arraigned on a charge of intending to murder the sovereign, and the next day suffered the death of a traitor. No man, who will read the report of his trial, can entertain a doubt of his innocence. But his conviction produced this effect; it persuaded the queen that her safety was incompatible with the life of Essex†.

In a few days the two earls were arraigned before the lord Buckhurst, as lord-steward, and twenty-five other peers. Essex, looking round from the bar, said that he saw among the lords several who were known to be his personal enemies. These he should challenge; it was the privilege of the lowest subject in the land; it could not be refused to one belonging to the first order in the state. The judges were consulted, who replied that the

\* See Camden, 845. The State Trials, 1333—1350. 1410—1451, and note (R).

† It is published in Howell's State Trials, i. 1403. Camden's observation is, *pro temporum ratione salutaris hæc visa est severitas*, p. 847. On the day of Lee's arraignment sir Robert Cecil is said to have made a speech in the star-chamber, the violence of which may be perhaps excused on account of the excitement raised so lately by the attempt of Essex: but which charges the earl with treasons not afterwards mentioned at his trial. Harl. MS. 6354, and life of sir R. Cecil, 60.

law had drawn a broad distinction between peers and jurors. The former gave their verdict on their honour; and, as they could not be sworn, so neither could they be challenged\*.

The indictment charged the prisoners with having imagined the deposition and the death of the queen. It was supported with great vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Bacon, who drew their arguments from the open and acknowledged facts that Essex and Southampton had imprisoned the four counsellors, had entered the city in arms, had called on the inhabitants to rise, had refused to disperse at the royal command, intimated by a herald at arms, had assaulted the military force posted at Ludgate, and had fortified and kept Essex house against the army under the command of the earl of Nottingham. Essex replied that he did not speak to preserve his life—it was not worth the preserving—but he stood there to preserve his honour. He had never entertained a thought of injuring the queen; nor were the acts assigned any proof of such an intention. If he had taken up arms, and had invoked the aid of the citizens, he could justly plead that it was done through necessity. The lord Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh sought to take his life; that the queen's authority afforded little protection, had been shown by the late atrocious assault committed in the open street by the lord Grey on the earl of Southampton; and in such circumstances he could conceive no other means of safety than to repel force by the employment of force.

In refutation of this plea it was urged that at Drury house the conspirators had proposed to seize the person of the queen, and to compel her to govern according to the pleasure of Essex; that the irruption into the city was the result of that project; and that this fact would

\* Camden, 848. The peers were the earls of Oxford, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Sussex, Hertford, and Lincoln: the viscount Bindon; the lords Hunsdon, Delaware, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Windsor, Rich, Darey, Chandos, St. John of Bletso, Burghley, Compton, and Howard of Walden.

be proved to the satisfaction of every impartial man, by the evidence of some, and the confessions of others, among the conspirators.

At the mention of Drury house the earl betrayed symptoms of agitation. He had carefully destroyed every suspicious paper, and rested with entire confidence on the secrecy of his associates. However, he soon recovered himself; and, when sir Ferdinando Gorges appeared as a witness, examined him sharply, extorted from him an acknowledgment that no injury was intended to the queen, and inferred from his manner and hesitation that he had been tampered with in the Tower, and was therefore unworthy of credit. In conclusion he observed that, whether the consultations at Drury house were criminal or not, was a question which did not concern him: they were held by other persons; he had never been present.

Southampton adopted a different line of defence. He maintained that, though many projects had been mentioned in these meetings, nothing had been concluded; that to consult was not to determine; that there was no connexion between the meetings in question and the attempt to raise the city; that the latter arose entirely from occurrences which could not have been foreseen, from the information of immediate danger to the life of Essex, and the unexpected arrival of the four counsellors\*.

As the trial proceeded the earl was reproached with having said that the kingdom was bought and sold. He vindicated the expression on the ground that sir Robert Cecil, who ruled as if he were the sovereign, had maintained that the right of the infanta of Spain was equal to that of any other among the competitors. Cecil, who was present, but unseen, instantly started from a private box, and, having obtained permission to speak, insisted that the earl should either name the person from whom

\* Camden, 849—851. State Trials, 1333—1350.

he received the information, or be content to have his assertion accounted a calumny. Essex refused; but in his anxiety to repel the charge of falsehood, remarked that his fellow-prisoner had heard it as well as himself. The secretary, turning to Southampton, conjured him by their former friendship, and as he was a christian man, to name the informer. In this trying moment Southampton appealed to the court, whether it were consistent with reason or with honour that he should betray the secret. All replied in the affirmative, and he named sir Robert Knollys, comptroller of the household, and uncle to Essex\*.

While a serjeant at arms was despatched for Knollys, sir Edward Coke arose, and accused Essex of hypocrisy and irreligion, because, while he pretended to be a protestant, he had promised toleration to Blount, his father-in-law, a known catholic. The earl replied that the charge was false; that he had always lived, and should die, a protestant; that he had never made any promise of toleration to Blount; but that he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship to put catholics to death on account of their religion†.

When Knollys arrived he gave a new but unsatisfactory version of his conversation with the two earls. If we may believe him, what he had heard from Cecil, and had repeated to his nephew, was not that the claim of the infanta had been maintained by Cecil, but by Doleman, who had dedicated his book to Essex. The earl shortly replied that he had understood him in a very different sense.

\* Camden, 854. The French ambassador, who was preseen says that the reply of Essex "piequa si fort le secretaire (pour en estre paravenure quelque chose) qu'il se prit à crier tout hault, qu'il ne feroit jaumis servir à sa majesté, si on ne lui ostoit la teste comme à un traistre." He adds, "il n'avoit pas oublié ce jour la petite boite; car en ma vie je ne le vois plus beau"—and, a little later, that the peers "à leur contenance redoutoyent plus ce petit homme, que leur conscience, et que leur royne." Winwood, i. 299. This letter soon became public, and, to appease the secretary, was disavowed by the ambassador.

† It is singular that the editors in the first edition substituted the milder expression, cruciarentur, for that in the original, morte afficerentur. Hearne's Camden, 855.

“Your misunderstanding arose,” exclaimed the secretary, “from your opposition to peace. It was your ambition that every military man should look up to you as his patron, and hence you sought to represent me and the counsellors, who wished to put an end to the war, as the pensioners of Spain\*.”

To certain questions put by the lords, the judges replied, that it was rebellion in a subject to attempt to raise a force which the sovereign could not resist; and that in every rebellion the law supposed a design against the crown and life of the sovereign, because it became the interest of a successful rebel that the sovereign should not reign nor live to punish the rebellion. After an hour's deliberation the peers pronounced both the prisoners guilty. Essex observed that, as he should not solicit, so neither should he refuse mercy; that, though the lords had found him guilty according to the letter of the law, he believed that they had acquitted him in their own consciences; and that he hoped they would intercede for the life of his fellow-prisoner, who had offended more through affection for him than through any other motive. Southampton followed. His only object had been to obtain redress for his friend, whom he believed to have been treated harshly. The law might suppose in him the intention of deposing and killing the queen, but he knew that no such thought had ever suggested itself to his mind. His crime was a crime of ignorance. Yet he submitted to his fate, and threw himself on the mercy of the queen. He had spent the best part of his patrimony and endangered his life in her service; and if, in pity of his ignorance, she were pleased to make him the object of mercy, he should receive the favour with humility and gratitude.

The lord steward pronounced judgment: the edge of the axe was turned towards the prisoners; and Essex

\* Winwood, i. 300. Camden, 854.



observed, as he left the bar, that his body might have rendered better service to his sovereign; but it would be as she pleased: if his death proved an advantage to her, it was well. He begged that Ashton, his favourite minister, might attend him; made an apology to the councillors whom he had confined; and asked pardon of the lords Morley and Delaware, whose sons, though entirely ignorant of the plot, had been drawn by him into the same danger with himself\*.

Essex was followed to the Tower by Dove, dean of Norwich, who exhorted him to make his peace with the Almighty by the confession of his treason. The earl replied, that in what he had done he had committed no offence against God. He attempted to justify his refusal to appear before the council by the example of David, who had disobeyed the summons from Saul; and contended that his office of earl marshal authorized him to reform the abuses in the government. To Dove succeeded Ashton, who, it was believed, had previously received his lesson from the secretary. This perfidious divine assumed a bolder and harsher tone. He rejected the earl's protestations of innocence as the sinful evasions of a guilty conscience; and threatened him with the vengeance of an omniscient Judge unless he should make a full and sincere confession. Whether it was through the fear of death, or the menaces of the preacher, the spirit of Essex was at last subdued. He sent for the  
**Feb.** 22. lord keeper, the treasurer, the admiral, and the secretary, solicited their forgiveness, and made an ample avowal of every ambitious and unlawful project which had entered his mind; betrayed the secrets of the men whom he had seduced to aid him with their counsel and exertions; and disclosed the object of the negotiation between himself and the king of Scots. His confession filled four sheets of paper: but its accuracy has been

\* Camden, 855-857 State Trials, 1350-1353.

doubted; and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes of which neither he nor they were guilty\*.

The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had not the heart to put her favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment; others, that she dared not—revenge might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen†. But his enemies were industrious; and, while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them Elizabeth heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced “an old woman, as crooked in mind as she was “in body‡.” This insult to her “divine beauty” sunk deeply into her breast, and, jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal warrant; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the lord Darcy, to hasten, its execution§.

\* Winwood, 301. 303. State Trials, 1430. 1442. 1447. Birch, ii. 478—480. Camden, 865.

† Osborn, Miscellany, 212. “Undutiful words of a subject,” Raleigh writes, “do often take deeper root than the memory of ill deeds do: the “late earl of Essex told queen Elizabeth that her conditions were as “crooked as her carriage: but it cost him his head, which his insurrection “had not cost him, but for that speech.” See Birch’s Works of Raleigh, i. 224. Many believed that this was the real cause of his execution within the Tower. There is, indeed, something suspicious in the earnestness with which Cecil instructs Winwood to declare in the French court that Essex had petitioned to die in private (Winwood, i. 302). When the envoy performed the commission to Henry IV. that monarch exclaimed, “Nay, rather the clean contrary: for he desired nothing more than to dye “in public.” Ibid. 309. Barlow, however, in his sermon, says, that according to the earl himself, he had asked for a private execution, “lest “the acclamations of the citizens should hove him up.” Birch, ii. 482.

‡ Osborn, Memoirs, 93. She had told him that he must be careful to confine himself to his insolent contempt of her person, “de mepriser sa personne insollement comme il faisoit,” for it would be worse for him, “s’il touchast a son sceptre.” Beaumont, from her own words in *Von Raumer*, ii. 181. § Camden, 860.

Feb. 25. About eight in the morning Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law: but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of God and his sovereign." Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon, is uncertain: but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends; that he took leave of no one, not even of his acquaintances then present, and that, when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind\*. The first stroke took from him all sense of pain: the third severed his head from the body.

Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments†. In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation; qualities which captivated the old

\* Bacon, iii. 179. Winwood, i. 301. Birch, ii. 481—484. Camden, 859. The most pressing instructions had been previously given to the officers and divines to prevent him from speaking of the nature of his offence, or of his associates, and to confine him to a simple declaration of sorrow for his treason. See Jardine, 374.

† He stooped forward, walked and danced ungracefully, and was slovenly in his dress. Watton, *Reliques*, 160.

queen, fatigued as she was with the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite: but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher; and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious; and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold—that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, though it could not be softened by submission.

Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character, his affability and profusion, his spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. His last offence could not, indeed, be disguised; but it was attributed not so much to his own passions, as to the secret agents of his enemies, working upon his open and unsuspecting disposition. To silence these rumours, an account of his treason was published by authority, charging him, on his own confession, and the confessions of his associates, with a design to place himself on the throne. But the charge obtained no credit; and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations; and her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence\*.

The death of Essex contributed to save the life of

\* Osborn, *Miscellany*, 204. Birch, ii. 510.

Southampton. He would cease to be an object of apprehension, when he could be no longer swayed by the counsels of his unfortunate friend; and Cecil owed to him some return for the opportunity which he had afforded him at the trial of rebutting the charge so confidently made by Essex. But, though the ministers solicited the queen in his favour, though they extorted from her a reprieve from the block, they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary, and Mar. Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual  
13. punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his step-father, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington: men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship, to live or perish together\*.

The king of Scots, in consequence of his engagement with the conspirators, had previously appointed the earl of Marr, and Bruce, abbot of Kinross, his ambassadors to England. Though the failure of the attempt was known in Edinburgh before their departure, they were authorized to promise that James would put himself at the Mar. head of the party, if there still remained any reasonable  
6. prospect of success. They found the adherents of Essex

\* Ille nihil contra nisi quod periculum fortunarum et capitis in hac causa præ amore erga Southamptonium neglexerit. Camden, 865. State Trials, 1448. Sir John Davies, sir Edward Baynham, and Mr. Lyttleton were also condemned. But the first obtained a pardon after a year's imprisonment; Baynham purchased his with a sum of money to sir Walter Raleigh; and Lyttleton, having surrendered his estate of 7000*l.* per annum, and paid a fine of 10,000*l.*, was removed from Newgate to the king's bench, where he died three months afterwards. Birch, 496. Camden, 858. Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador to the court of France, had been invited to Drury house before his departure.—If we may believe himself, he only heard some disloyal conversation, which he condemned, and then departed. The confession attributed to Essex made him more criminal. He was confined in the Tower till the queen's death. Winwood, 302. 325. Camden, 871. Yet Cecil affirmed that the first hint of the plot was received from him. State Trials, 1447.

plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power. Veiling their object, they congratulated the queen on her escape from the control of the conspirators; affirmed in strong language the innocence of their master, not only as to that, but as to all other attempts against her life or authority; requested in his name that she would pardon such of her subjects as were imprisoned for the sole offence of having visited him in Scotland\*, and demanded an addition to his annual pension, and a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession. James dared not hope for success in this negotiation. He knew that Essex had betrayed the secret connexion between them, and he expected every bad office from the presumed hostility of Cecil. Under this impression he instructed the two envoys to inform the queen, when they took leave, that he would never give her any cause of complaint during her time, but that the day must come, when there would exist no bar between him and the base instruments whom she trusted, and that from them he would exact a severe account of their present injustice and presumption†. But the envoys were spared the necessity of employing this menace. Cecil was a thorough-bred politician, who measured his friendships and

\* As sir William Evers. "He was brought prisoner to London and committed there, and it was thought some farther matter would have fallen out against his brother the lo. Evers, the lo. Willowby and others, about the Scottish affayres. Since that tyme the matter hath lyen as it were in a dreame, and sir William close prisoner, but not knowen where." Private let. Jan 13, 1601.

† James had certainly been persuaded that Cecil would oppose his succession. But in favour of whom? I suspect of Arabella Stuart. In the "secret correspondence" after their reconciliation, many sneers are thrown out against the claim of that lady, and lord Shrewsbury and his mother are represented as seeking to raise her to the throne, though the letters in Lodge (iii. 124. 153) show, that at the same time Cecil pretended to be a sincere friend to the earl. In the very first letter, written to be shown to James, Arabella is called "Shrewsbury's idol, who, if she follow some men's counsels, will be made higher by as many steps as will lead to the scaffold." The earl has no influence, and his mother can make no friends to the cause. Secret correspondence of sir Robert Cecil with James, vi. p. 14, 15.

enmities by his personal interest. When Elizabeth was tottering on the brink of the grave, it was not for him to brave the resentment of her successor. How the reconciliation was effected, is not precisely stated: but the result appears to have been an agreement that all past causes of offence should be forgiven, that the king should receive an addition of two thousand pounds to his annuity, and that Cecil with the aid of the lord Henry Howard, should silently pave the way for his succession at the death of Elizabeth. The secretary, however, required silence as an indispensable condition. Should the secret transpire, should even a suspicion be provoked of any concert between him and the Scottish king, the jealousy of Elizabeth would pronounce Cecil a traitor, and James a rival: and it should be remembered that the court contained many, who through interested motives would gladly infuse such notions into the royal mind. This advice was approved and adopted. The correspondence which followed between the parties, was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the queen and the courtiers, and generally passed through the hands of the lord Henry Howard in England, and of Marr and Bruce in Scotland. Cecil continued to act, as if he had no eye to the succession of James; and James affected to speak of him as of one, from whom he had no reason to expect any service\*.

Essex, in his confession, had betrayed the project for

\* See Birch, ii. 510. 513, and the "secret correspondence," the whole tenor of which seems to me to establish the previous understanding; between Cecil and the Scottish envoys. See particularly, pp. 92. 121. It has, indeed, been shown by the judicious author of the life of sir Robert Cecil (in *Cabinet Cyclop.*) that the name of that statesman ought not to have been introduced into the title-page. The letters were not written by Cecil, but by the lord Henry Howard: some portions of them were carefully concealed from the knowledge of Cecil; and there is no proof that any (with perhaps one exception, 123) was ever submitted to him. Still it is plain that the lord Henry wrote them in the character of the confidant and associate of Cecil, sometimes by his express direction, and generally in the joint names of them both, using either the plural pronoun "we," or the words "Cecil and I, Cecil and myself." Hence these letters may fairly be taken as expressive of the sentiments of Cecil. See p. 100. 108. 123. 134. 143. 188. 209.

his release from captivity, to which the lord Mountjoy had formerly given his assent. Though that nobleman had conducted the war in Ireland with a vigour and success which raised him to a high pre-eminence above all former deputies, he knew that he had reason to dread the resentment of the queen, and had made every preparation to seek, at the first summons, an asylum on the continent. Cecil, however, convinced her that it stood not with her interests to irritate a favourite general at the head of a victorious army. Dissembling her knowledge of his guilt, she acquainted him, in a long and gracious letter, with the trial and execution of Essex; assured him that in her distress it afforded her consolation to think of his loyalty and attachment; begged him to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the officers, who had received commissions from his predecessor; and instructed him to be prepared against the armament destined to invade Ireland from the coast of Spain. In a short time four thousand men, under the command of don Juan D'Aguilar, arrived. They landed at Kinsale, fortified the town, and called on the natives to join them against a princess, who had been excommunicated and deposed by several succeeding pontiffs\*.

Whilst Mountjoy assembled an army to oppose the invaders, Elizabeth summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade: but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes; and she was actually sinking to the ground, when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war; and his wish was gratified by the unexampled vote of four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths. But if the members were liberal in their

Sept.  
21.Oct.  
27.

\* Camden, 880—886.



grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites \*. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. This custom began in the seventeenth year of her reign, and grew in a short time into an intolerable abuse. If it supplied her with the means of satisfying importunate suitors without cost to herself; yet, to the public, each patent operated as a new tax on the consumer. Sometimes the patentee exercised the right himself; often he sold it to another; but in both cases all subordinate venders throughout the kingdom were compelled either to purchase the article in the first instance from the monopolist, or to pay him a yearly premium for the permission to sell it. Hence, wine, vinegar, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, among which were several of universal consumption and the first necessity, had of late years been advanced to double the usual price; and the representatives of most counties and boroughs had been instructed, by their constituents, to demand the abolition of so oppressive a grievance.

- Nov. The motion was soon made: by the advisers of the  
18. crown it was met with the argument, that the granting  
20. of monopolies was a branch of the prerogative; that whoever only touched the prerogative, would incur the royal indignation; that to proceed by bill was useless and unwise, because though the two houses might pretend "to tie the queen's hands by act of parliament, "she still could loose them at her pleasure;" and that the speaker was blameable to admit such motions, contrary to the royal commandment given at the opening of the session. It was, however, replied that the patentees were the blood-suckers of the commonwealth;

\* Secret correspondence, 25, 26.

that the people could no longer bear such burdens; that the close of the last parliament had shown how little redress was to be expected from petition; and that the only sure remedy was to abolish all monopolies by statute. This perseverance of the commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. Sending for Nov 25. the speaker, she assured him, in the presence of the council, that she never signed a patent of monopoly till she had been told that it would prove beneficial to the nation; that she was under obligations to the members who had brought the abuse to her knowledge; that she would, by proclamation, revoke every patent prejudicial to the liberties of the subject; and would suspend all others till their validity should be ascertained in the courts of law. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned her thanks in language little short of blasphemy; and Cecil prided himself on the dexterity with which he had satisfied the people, without surrendering the prerogative of the crown\*.

In the mean while, the lord deputy in Ireland had united his forces with those of the president of Munster, and besieged D'Aguilar with his Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. Tyrone watched the operations of the besiegers. With six thousand natives, and about two hundred Spaniards, who had landed at Castlehaven, under the command of Ocampo, he hastened early in the morning to surprise the English camp, ordering another party at the same time to convey a supply of provisions to the besieged. But his project had been already betrayed to lord Mountjoy, and his advance was

\* D'Ewes, ii. 644—654. Townshend, 224. 230. 248.

1692.  
Jan.  
2. retarded by the anxiety of Ocampo to introduce something like regularity into the ranks of the natives. As the latter were crossing a brook they were charged by a body of four hundred horse, and immediately fled. The Spaniards, abandoned by their allies, threw down their arms, crying misericordia; five hundred Irish were slain in the pursuit; and the O'Neil, collecting about two thousand of his best men, retired into the north. D'Agui-  
lar, convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered Kinsale and the forts in his possession, and obtained permission to return to Corunna with his men, their arms, and ammunition. Elizabeth received the news with warm expressions of gratitude; and a hope was cherished, that by this signal service Mountjoy had atoned for his former disloyalty\*.

The departure of the Spaniards was followed by the reduction of Munster. The superiority of the English force, and the destructive ravages of famine, plunged the natives into despair: after a few contests, in which neither party gave quarter, resistance seemed at an end; and the conquerors remained in undisputed possession of a province, which was now become no better than an extensive wilderness. From Munster Tyrone sought his usual asylum in the north; but the deputy allowed him no leisure to breathe; he was continually hunted by the garrisons from Blackwater, Charlemont, and Mountjoy; his followers perished by hundreds through extremity of want; and the spirit of the O'Neil was at last subdued. He offered to submit on honourable terms; but the pride of Elizabeth demanded an unconditional surrender.

In England the lords of the council laboured to mollify the obstinacy of the queen. They represented to her, that the Spaniards had adopted her own policy; that they kept alive the flame of rebellion in Ireland to exhaust her finances, and detain her forces at home;

\* Camden, 886—892. Winwood, i. 369, 370. 373. Lodge, iij. 152. and MS. letter.

that for several years she had been compelled to maintain in that island an army of twenty thousand men at an annual expense of more than 300,000*l.*; that she had it now in her power, by a few trifling concessions, to relieve herself from this intolerable burden, and to secure the English ascendancy in Ireland. But they had an additional reason which they dared not mention. They wished to effect the pacification of that kingdom before her death; lest the Spanish monarch should find there a powerful party already in arms to support his pretensions to the Irish, as well as to the English crown. After a long contest she began to relent: but it was still impossible to fix the indecision of her mind: and each succeeding week new and contradictory instructions were forwarded to the deputy. Mountjoy was perplexed: he knew not what answer to give to Tyrone; and the time was consumed in useless messages from one to the other. But the moment he heard that the life of the queen was in danger, he sent for the Irish chieftain, 1603, who made his submission on his knees, renounced the title of O'Neil, and all dependence on foreign authority, and solicited the restoration of his rights and honours from the mercy of his sovereign. Mountjoy, in return, subscribed a full pardon for him and his followers, and promised that his lands, with one or two exceptions, and his former title, should again be vested in him by a patent from the crown. From Mellifont they proceeded to Dublin, where they first heard of the death of Elizabeth. Tyrone burst into tears; but, though he condemned his precipitancy, it was too late to recede; he renewed his submission; and the few natives who refused to imitate his conduct, retiring to the continent, sought for support by fighting the battles of foreign powers\*.

To prevent the Spaniards from making a second descent in Ireland, the admirals Levison and Monson

\* Moryson, 200—300. Camden, 892. 905—909.

had been despatched to cruise off the coast of Spain. But a carrack of immense value moored under the castle in the small harbour of Sesimbria, offered an irresistible temptation. They silenced the batteries, carried off the prize, and returned with it in triumph to Plymouth. In defence of this violation of their orders, they pleaded that the fleet had been shattered by the weather, and that the plague was actually raging in two of the ships. The ministers were perplexed; but it was agreed to conceal the whole proceeding from the immediate knowledge of the queen: every exertion was made to equip another squadron, and in a few days Monson sailed again to his former station. Six galleys, however, commanded by Spinola, deceived his vigilance, and creeping along the French coast, entered the Channel. There they were deserted by their good fortune. They fell in with a squadron of Dutch and English ships commanded by Mansell; and the result of several successive actions was, that three were sunk, and the other three escaped into the harbour of Sluys. With this victory closed the naval operations of Elizabeth's reign\*.

The time, so long dreaded by the queen, had at length arrived; when, to use her own expression, men would turn their backs on the setting, to worship the rising sun. It was in vain that she affected the vigour and gaiety of youth; that, in opposition to the unanimous advice of the council, she persisted in making her annual progress; and that every other day she fatigued her  
 Sept. decrepit frame, with riding on horseback to view the labours of the chase, and the other sports of the field†.

\* Camden, 893—896. Private MS. letter.

† Lord Henry Howard writes to the earl of Marr, only five months before her death, "the queen our sovereign was never so gallant many years, not so set upon jollity." To divert her from making her annual progress, the council had objected that it would hinder the harvest by taking up carts, &c. but she was obstinate. "Order is given yesterday for the remove the same day sevensnight; hunting and disporting in the meantime every other day, which is the people's ague." The earl of Worcester says, Sept. 19, "We are frolyke heare in courte; mutche dauncing

No art could conceal her age and infirmities from the knowledge of her subjects; the consequences of her approaching demise became the general topic of conversation at court; and every man who dared to give an opinion, was careful to name as her successor the king of Scots\*. Some apprehension, however, was excited by the mysterious silence of Cecil. No artifice could draw his secret from his breast. To every question he warily replied, that he was the minister of Elizabeth; it was his duty to serve her; he had nothing to do with the appointment of her successor. James also was true to his engagement. Many attempts were made to elicit his opinion of the secretary; but his answer was uniformly the same; that though he had no reason to rely on the services of that minister, yet he saw nothing in his conduct which proved him to be an enemy†.

The apparent apathy of Cecil might damp, it did not extinguish, the eagerness of others. All who had any

"in the privi chamber of countrey dawnces befor the Q. M. whoe is exceedingly pleased therewith." Lodge, iii. 148. At this time the queen had a new favourite, the young earl of Clanricarde. "He resembles much the late earl of Essex, and is growing to be a favourite." Aug. 15. "He courtes it in the best manner, and is graced by all, being in speciall grace and favour with the greatest of all." Sept. 15. "He is brought forward to prevent the rise of Mountjoy, and to counterpoise the young earl of Pembroke." Sept. 22. "He is in speciall favour with her matie, but hath many that envy and maligne it." Nov. 17. "He holdeth still in good grace with her matie." Dec. 15. MS. letters. "Flatterers say that he resembles Essex: the queen dissembles, and says that she cannot love him; inasmuch as he recalls her sorrow for that nobleman." Beaumont, Dec. 8. By mistake he is called Clancary in Von Raumer, ii. 185.

\* Secret correspondence, 127. We are told that in the autumn of 1600 she hunted daily on horseback, and continued the sport long. Syd. Pap. ii. 213, 214. The following was written, 7th April, 1602. "On Richmond greene she (the queen) walketh often, with greater shewes of ability then can well stand with her years. Mr. Secretary swayes all of import albeit of late much absent from the courte and about London, but not omitting in his absence dayly to present her Majestie with some jewell or toy that may be acceptable. Thother of the counsayle or nobilitie estrange them-selves from court by all occasions, so as, besides the Mr. of the horse, vicechamberlain, and controller, few of accompte appear there. Mens hominum novitatis avida." MS. letter.

† Secret correspondence, 17. 30. 83. 122. 192. "Never was the world both within and without, more finely cozened, which proves that both the most men and good workmen have the cause in handling, and therefore non transibit ista generatio donec evererint omnia."

thing to hope or fear from a new reign, sought to assure James of their attachment, and to make him the tender of their services. But of no individuals was the secretary more jealous than of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, who had been his associates against Essex, but were now his opponents at court. All three met regularly at Durham house, undertook to form a party in favour of James, and through the duke of Lennox, the political opponent of Marr, assured him of their readiness to hazard their lives and fortunes in his service\*. Cecil was alarmed; and the lord Henry spared not the most odious insinuations to ruin them in the royal estimation. James was repeatedly warned to give no credit to their professions; for they were men poor in fortune, and destitute of friends; without the ability, even if they had the will, to serve him; atheists in principle, and capable of every crime to accomplish their purposes. They might indeed assume the garb of friendship, but they would prove enemies at heart; their object was to discover his secrets, that they might betray them, to procure food for the jealousy of the queen, that they might remove Cecil from her councils, and make themselves the arbiters of the succession†.

It was evidently the object of the two friends to con-

\* It is worth while to notice here Northumberland's opinion of his two associates from one of his letters to James. "The first of these two I know not how his heart is affected; but by the latter, whom sixteen years of acquaintance hath confirmed unto me, I must needs affirm Raleigh's ever allowance of your right; and although I know him insolent, extremely heated, a man that desires to seem to be able to sway all men's fancies, all men's courses, and a man that out of himself, when your time shall come, will never be able to do you much good nor harm, yet I must needs confess what I know; that there is excellent good parts of nature in him; a man whose love is disadvantageous to me in some sort: which I cherish rather out of constancy than policy; and one whom I wish your majesty not to lose, because I would not that one hair of a man's head should be against you that might be for you." Aikin, vol. i. 57, 58.

† Ibid. 28—32. 66, 67. 107. Lord Henry Howard calls them "the diabolical triplcity," p. 26: and afterwards, speaking of Cobham and Raleigh, "your lordship may believe that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon," 132.

fine the royal favour to themselves and their partisans. Under the modest pretence of imparting advice, they presumed to trace out the plan of conduct, which James was to pursue; to designate the names of the persons, to whom, and to whom alone, application should be made for support; and to dictate the contents of the very letters which should be written to them with that view\*. They ventured even further. Experience had taught them that Elizabeth might be governed by exciting unfounded alarms in her mind†; and they sought by similar artifices to acquire the guidance of her expected successor. Howard in his letters began to talk of plots against the king's life and his rights; told him that he cherished enemies in his very court; and intimated some apprehension that the indiscretion and prejudices of his queen, unless they received a timely check, might prove fatal to the royal hopes‡. James, however, had both the discernment to see the object of the writer, and the resolution to act in pursuance of his own judgment. Notwithstanding the prohibition of his "secret correspondents," he accepted with expressions

\* Aikin, vol. i. 77, 90, 92, 93.

† "The queen," says Howard, "is a lady that rather hears than compares, numbers than weighs, and by consequence would make all probable that is poetry," (mere imagination) p. 95. It requires some acquaintance with the enigmatical style of this writer to understand him. He means to say, that Elizabeth believes all that is told her; it is sufficient that a thing may happen, for her to be convinced that it will happen.

‡ Ibid. 140—168. 2, 7. They complain of the king's clemency to Dethick. "Were he now with us," they say, "as he is with you, we should teach him which way judicature came into the creed." They then observe that the king's life must be preserved by miracle: "for it cannot be from the manner in which justice is administered," p. 223. It appears from MS. letters in my possession that Dethick had been employed by Cecil as a spy in Florence, where James had much dealing with the grand duke; that he returned to London, and went thence to Edinburgh, where he had an audience of the king, but was afterwards refused access to the court. One morning coming down from his chamber into the shop of the house in which he lodged, he drew his sword, and killed one Jeannie; and, on his examination, answered that he had made a mistake, and killed the wrong Jeannie. Cecil knew not what suspicions this accident might raise in the mind of James. He sent for the former host of Dethick from Florence, and induced the queen to require that the murderer should be hanged in Scotland, or put into her hands. But James saved the man's life under the conviction that he was insane, and confined him within the castle of Edinburgh.



of gratitude and good will the offers of Northumberland; received graciously those who came to make to him the tender of their services; authorised them to canvass among their friends in his favour\*; and intimated, or caused it to be intimated, to Cecil and his associate that, in place of dark and mysterious hints, he expected a more open manifestation of the conspirators and of their designs; and that he considered as a personal insult the irreverent language, in which they had spoken of his consort. They hastened to apologise, applauding his sagacity and foresight, and praying him to excuse their own alarms, which had proceeded solely from attachment to his person, and solicitude for his interests†.

The question of the succession was as warmly agitated among the exiles abroad, as among the courtiers and politicians at home. The reader is acquainted with the plan of the Spanish faction, to place the infanta on the English throne. As long as she was at liberty to marry either the king of Scots, or an English nobleman, it was hoped that the nation might be induced to admit her claim: but from the moment of her union with the archduke Albert, the most sanguine of her partisans began to despond. After the death of cardinal Allen, in 1594, Persons left the court of Spain to reside at Rome. He now professed to limit his views to the succession of a catholic sovereign; who that sovereign might be was not for him to determine; it was a question which he left to the decision of the pontiff, the neighbouring princes, and the people of England‡. But there could

\* Aikin, vol. i. 105. "The Scottes K. hath many solliciters in England, that labour to make all principal men for his party against her majesties decease, offering all presente securitie under the kinges owne hand for liberty of conscience, confirmation of privileges and liberties, restitutions of wronges, honoures, titles, and dignities with encrease according to deserte." Dec. 15, 1602. A MS. letter, signed A. Rivers, in my possession.

† Secret Correspondence, 168. 170. 3. 6. 199. 202. 222.

‡ "I am indifferent to any man living, that hath or shall have right thereto, of what place or people, soever he be, so that he be a catholyke; but if he be no catholyke, as it belongeth not to my vocation to stryve against him, so I must confesse, that soe long as he is soe, nothing under

be no doubt that, on the death of Elizabeth, many competitors would appear; and, that on such an occasion the catholic monarchs, in union with the catholic natives, might form a powerful party in favour of a catholic claimant. Attempts had formerly been made to steal away the lady Arabella Stuart as a dangerous rival to the infanta: she now became the favourite of the faction; it was proposed that she should marry the cardinal Farnese, who could trace his descent from John of Ghent; and that all catholics should be exhorted to support their united pretensions. When this visionary scheme was suggested to Clement VIII., he appeared to entertain it with pleasure, but was careful not to commit himself by any public avowal of his sentiments. He signed, indeed, two breves addressed to the English nobility and clergy. But in them he mentioned no name. He merely exhorted the catholics to refuse their aid to every claimant, who would not promise to support the ancient worship, and to take the oath which had formerly been taken by the catholic monarchs. These instruments were forwarded to the nuncio at Brussels, and through him to Garnet the superior of the jesuits, with an injunction to keep them secret till the death of Elizabeth. Garnet obeyed; and, on the succession of the king of Scots, prudently committed them to the flames\*.

"heaven can move my heart and will to favour his pretensions." Persons to the earl of Angus, Jan. 24, 1600. Plowden's Remarks on Panzani, 359. See also Winwood, i. 388.

\* Lettres D'Ossat, ii. 502—509. Butler's Memoirs, 259. One great obstacle, which they could not remove, was the opposition of the king of France, whose interest it was that England should never be possessed by a prince allied to the king of Spain. On this account Henry refused to listen to any overtures from the Spanish party. When Aldobrandini suggested to him, that he and Philip might consult together on the subject, he replied, that it was impossible they should agree, for two reasons; "à cause de la jalousie, que la condition et proximité de leurs états les obligeoient d'avoir l'un de l'autre; et pour être leurs intelligences audit Royaume fort contraires: d'autant que tous les prestres et catholiques du pais pratiquent par les jesuites regardoient le roi d'Espagne, et ceux, qui leur étoient opposés, inclinoient de son côté." D'Ossat, ii. App. 12. Persons, however, did not despair. About three months before the queen's death, he renewed the proposal to the cardinal D'Ossat, and appears to have brought him over to his opinion. Ibid. 580.

The opposite faction, under the control of Paget and his friends, pursued a contrary course. Their original object had been to support the claim of the Scottish queen. At her death all her rights devolved on her son. Him therefore they acknowledged for heir apparent to the English crown; and from his gratitude or his justice promised themselves the mitigation of their sufferings, and the toleration of their religion. Affecting the praise of loyalty and patriotism, they openly condemned the conduct of Persons and his adherents; they even submitted to act the part of spies, and betrayed the plans and proceedings of their adversaries to both the English and Scottish governments\*. But in England Paget possessed little influence among the catholics, who looked upon him as one of the originators of Babington's plot, and the cause of all the evils which had sprung from it: whilst his adversary Persons, from the high consideration which he enjoyed among his brethren, exercised extensive authority over a portion of the missionaries. This induced several secular clergymen to consult together: they persuaded themselves that the present severity of persecution had been sharpened at least by the proceedings of the Spanish faction; and, forming themselves into an association, resolved to petition for the appointment of catholic bishops, that, like their brethren in other countries, they might live under episcopal authority, and might be more widely separated from the men, whose connexion with the leaders of the opposite party had rendered them, whether justly or unjustly, objects of suspicion to the queen. At first Persons supported, soon he opposed, their design; instead of several bishops, one archpriest was appointed; and *he* received secret instructions to

\* Winwood, i. 51, 52, 89, 94, 101, 161. The ambassador Neville pleaded much in their favour with the secretary, though he despaired of success. "There is none of them but offer oath of absolute obedience to the temporal government, and to employ body, goods, and life against any invaders, renouncing all benefit of dispensation or other evasion from it" P. 162.

consult the provincial of the jesuits in England, on all points of particular importance. It is plain, from the subsequent conduct of Clement, that the pontiff sought only to put an end to the dissensions among the missionaries: but the projectors of the measure had in view a great political object. They had persuaded themselves, that by subjecting all the secular priests to the government of a single superior attached to their party, they should be able, at the death of the queen, to employ the influence of the whole body in support of a favourite candidate for the crown\*. But their hopes were deceived. The appointment gave dissatisfaction, several clergy-**Oct.** men appealed from the authority of the archpriest, and **5.** sent deputies to Rome to prosecute the appeal. Clement, after a long hearing, listened in part to their complaints. For, though he confirmed Blackwell, the new superior, in his office, he reprimanded him for his intemperate conduct, and forbade him, for the sake of peace, to ask or receive, in the discharge of his duty, the advice of Garnet, or of any of his brethren †.

The queen's ministers had noticed the origin, and watched the progress, of this controversy. Their hostility to the Spanish party induced them to favour the cause of the appellants, who through the intermediate agency of Bancroft, bishop of London, were indulged with the means of corresponding with each other, with facilities for the publication of tracts in their own defence, and with passports for the deputies whom they sent to Rome ‡. But the connexion could not long be concealed. The zealots among the puritans were scandalized; they openly accused the ministers of a secret

\* This was asserted by Winwood, and D'Ossat, ii. 506. It is proved by a memorial in favour of the archpriest in my possession. "La principale ragione è non solo per conservare l'unione vivente la regina, sino molto più dopo la sua morte per procurare qualche successore cattolico conforme a certi brevi, che S. S. ha scritto già prudentissimamente alli cattolichi."

† See the breve in Dodd, ii. 162.

‡ In these passports they were said to have been banished. Winwood, i. 373. He adds, "which party soever shall gain, the common cause must needs lose, whose nakedness shall be discovered, and shewn displayed to the view of the world." Ibid. Jan. 6, 1602.

and mysterious understanding with the popish missionaries; and Cecil deemed it necessary to furnish public and unequivocal proof of his orthodoxy. A proclamation was issued in the name of Elizabeth, in which she noticed the division of the catholic clergy into two parties, one of the jesuits and their adherents, the other of the secular priests, their opponents. The former she pronounces traitors, without any exception; the latter, though less guilty, are disobedient and disloyal subjects, who, under the vizard of a-pretended conscience, steal away the hearts of the simple and common people. She then complains that, in consequence of her clemency towards both these classes of men, they even "adventured to walk the streets at noon-day," and carried themselves so as to breed a suspicion that she proposed to grant a toleration of two religions, though God knew that she was ignorant of any such imagination, and that no one had ever ventured to suggest it to her. In conclusion, she commands all jesuits, and all priests, their adherents, to quit the kingdom within thirty days, and all others, their opponents, within three months, under the peril of suffering the penalties enjoined by law against persons who had received ordination by authority of the bishop of Rome\*.

The proclamation was followed by the establishment of a new commission, for the sole purpose of banishing the catholic clergymen. It consisted of the archbishop, the lord keeper, lord treasurer, and several other counsellors and judges, of whom six were a sufficient number to form a court. They were empowered to call before them every priest whom they thought proper, whether he were in prison or at large, and, without observing any of the usual forms of trial, to send him into banishment, under such conditions and limitations as they might choose to prescribe†. These proceedings, though they wore the semblance of hostility, were hailed by many of the missionaries as the commence-

\* Rymer, xiv. 473—476.

† Ibid. 489.

ment of a new era ; the distinction admitted in the proclamation, and the discretionary power given to the judges, encouraged a hope of further indulgence ; and they resolved to deserve it, by presenting to the queen a protestation of civil allegiance, drawn in the most ample and satisfactory form. In this instrument they declared, 1°. that she had a right to all that civil authority which was possessed by her predecessors ; that they were bound to pay to her the same obedience in civil causes which catholic priests had ever been bound to pay to catholic sovereigns ; and that no authority on earth could discharge them from that obligation : 2°. that in cases of conspiracy and invasion, even under pretence of restoring the catholic religion, they conceived it their duty to stand by her against all her opponents, and to reveal to her all plots and treasons which might come to their knowledge : 3°. that, were any excommunication to be issued against them, on account of their performance of this duty, they should look upon it as of no effect : and lastly, that by this protestation of their loyalty, they did not trench upon that obedience which was due to the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff, but, as they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their queen and country, so would they rather lose their lives than infringe the lawful authority of the catholic church \*. What influence such an address might have had, we cannot tell : it never reached the hands of the queen ; she was no longer in a condition to reward, or to punish.

Jan.  
31.

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course ; she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered may have been the consequences of age ; her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she occasionally bewailed his fate, that she accused her-

\* Dodd, ii. 292.

self of precipitation and cruelty, is not improbable : but there were disclosures in his confession, to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long ; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control ; and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn ; she sate whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections ; every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors ; and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence\*.

1601. Sir John Harrington, her godson, who visited the Oct. court about seven months after the death of Essex, has

9. described, in a private letter, the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features, and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. She had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her ; she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person. She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand, and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. About a year later he returned to the pa-

1602. lace, and was admitted to her presence. " I found her," Dec. he says, " in a most pitiable state. She bade the arch-

27. bishop ask me, if I had seen Tyrone. I replied, with

\* Birch, ii. 505

"reverence, that I had seen him with the lord deputy. "She looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said, 'O, now it mindeth me, that "you was one who saw this man elsewhere;' and "hereat she dropped a tear, and smote her bosom. She "held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to "her lips: but, in truth, her heart seemed too full to "need more filling\*."

In January she was troubled with a cold, and about <sup>1603.</sup> the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, <sup>Jan.</sup> from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased: but, with her characteristic obstinacy, she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress, it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died†. Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in sighs and tears; or, if she condescended to speak, she always chose some unpleasant and irritating subject; the treason and execution of Essex, or the reported project of marrying the lady Arabella into the family of lord Hertford‡, or the war in Ireland and the pardon of Tyrone. In the first week of March all the symptoms of her disorder were considerably aggravated: she lay during some hours in a <sup>Mar.</sup> state of stupor, rallied for a day or two, and then relapsed. The council, having learned from the physicians that her recovery was hopeless, prepared to fulfil their <sup>10.</sup>

\* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 317. 320. He adds, "she rated most grievously at noon at some one, who minded not to bring up some matter of account. "Several men have been sent to, and when ready at hand, her highness "hath dismissed them in great anger; but who shall say 'your highness "hath forgotten'?"

† I do not notice the story of the ring, said to have been sent by Essex to Elizabeth, but not delivered by the countess, who revealed her treachery on her death bed. Had it been true, it would have been mentioned by some of those who have related the occurrences of the queen's malady.

‡ "Some great personages heare (th' erle of Hertford's younger sonnes 'wife beyng lately dead,) propose a marriage betweene hym and Ar- "bella." Aug. 25, 1602. Beaumont, in his despatches of the beginning of the next year, says that she wished to marry lord Hertford's grandson, Birch, ii. But Cecil defeated these plans by confining her at Sheriff-Hutton



engagements with the king of Scots, by providing for his peaceable succession to the throne. The lord admiral, the lord keeper, and the secretary, remained with the queen at Richmond: the others repaired to Whitehall. Orders were issued for the immediate arrest and transportation to Holland of all vagrants and unknown persons found in London or Westminster; a guard was posted at the exchequer; the great horses were brought up from Reading; the court was supplied with arms and ammunition; and several gentlemen, "hunger-starved for innovation," and therefore objects of suspicion, were conveyed prisoners to the Tower\*.

The queen, during the paroxysms of her disorder, had been alarmed at the frightful phantoms conjured up by her imagination. At length she obstinately refused to return to her bed; and sate both day and night on a stool bolstered up with cushions, having her finger in her mouth and her eyes fixed on the floor, seldom condescending to speak, and rejecting every offer of nourishment. The bishops and the lords of the council advised and entreated in vain†. For them all, with the exception of the lord admiral, she expressed the most profound contempt. He was of her own blood: from him she consented to accept a basin of broth: but when he urged her to return to her bed, she replied, that, if he had seen what she saw there, he would never make the request. To Cecil, who asked if she had seen spirits, she answered, that it was an idle question beneath her notice. He insisted that she must go to bed, if it were only to

\* See a letter from Camden, Ellis, 2 ser. iii. 179. Strype, iv. 237. He mentions Baynham, Catesby, Tresham, and the two Wrights, &c. All these had been partisans of Essex; and afterwards were all connected with the gunpowder plot. The count Arundel of Wardour was also confined on suspicion, but in a gentleman's house.—Ibid.

† The contemporary accounts differ as to the number of days that the queen spent in this manner. I prefer the narrative of one who waited on her: "She sate for two dayes and three nyghts on the stole redie dressed, and would never be brought by anie of the consell to go to bed. . . . . "She kept her bed 15 dayes, besides 3 daies she sat upon the stole, and, "one day being pulled up by force, stood on her feet 15 hours." The writer was "the yonge faire Mrs. Southwell, sworne mayde of honour," 5 Jan. 1593. Her MS. is endorsed, Apr. 1, 1607.

satisfy her people. "Must?" she exclaimed, "is *must* a word to be addressed to princes? Little man, little man, thy father, if he had been alive, durst not have used that word: but thou art grown presumptuous because thou knowest that I shall die." Ordering the others to depart, she called the lord admiral to her, saying in a piteous tone, "my lord, I am tied with an iron collar about my neck." He sought to console her, but she replied, "no: I am tied, and the case is altered with me\*."

At the commencement of her illness the queen had been heard to say that she would leave the crown to the right heir: it was now deemed advisable to elicit from her a less equivocal declaration on behalf of the king of Scots. On the last night of her life the three lords waited upon her; and, if we may believe the report circulated by their partisans, received a favourable answer. But the maid of honour who was present has left us a very different tale. According to her narrative the persons first mentioned to the queen by the lords were the king of France and the king of Scotland. The queen neither spoke nor stirred. The third name was that of the lord Beauchamp. At the sound her spirit was roused; and she hastily replied, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat †." They were the last words which she uttered. She relapsed into a state of insensibility, and at three the next morning tranquilly breathed her last ‡. Mar. 23. 24.

\* I am indebted to the same fair writer for this conversation so characteristic of the queen. Camden had heard of its conclusion, but did not understand it, attributing it to her distrust of her counsellors instead of her diseased imagination. *Collum mihi obligarunt. Non habeo cui confidam. Rerum mearum facto est conversio.* Camd. 910.

† Lady Southwell's MS. Lord Beauchamp was the fruit of the furtive marriage between lord Hertford and the lady Catherine Grey, and consequently heir to the pretensions of the house of Suffolk. See note (M) in the preceding volume. This was the reason why he was named, and also why the queen used the expression "a rascal's son." Camden seems not to have known to whom she alluded, and has translated the words—"nolim ut vilis mihi succedat." Camd. 912.

‡ Lady Southwell ends her narrative thus: "Her majesty understood that secretarie Cecill had given forth that she was mad; and therefore in her sickness did manie times say to him, 'Cicell, know that I am not mad. You must not think to make queene Jane of me.' And although

By six, the lords from Richmond joined those in London; and a resolution was taken to proclaim James as heir to the queen, both by proximity of blood and by her own appointment on her death-bed\*.

In the judgment of her contemporaries, and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity, Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government; and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the severe injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West, and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was that spirit of commercial enterprise which had revived in the reign of Mary, and was carefully fostered in that of Elizabeth by the patronage of the sovereign and the co-operation of the

\* manie reports by Cicell's meanes were spred how she was distracted, "myselfe nor anie that weare about her could never perceive that her speaches so well adapted proved for a distracted mind." By "queen Jane" she perhaps alluded to Juana, the deranged queen of Castile, whom her grandfather Henry VII. had sought to marry.

\* See Camden, 909—911. Somers' Tracts, i. 246, 247. Carey's Memoirs, 122. Birch, ii. 506—508. D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, second series, iii. 107—109. Ellis, 2nd ser. 111. 194. That she made any appointment on her death-bed I do not believe; the report, however, was industriously circulated that she had named the king of Scotland her successor. Molino, ambassador to James from the state of Venice, was told that, when the question was put to her to whom she would leave her crown, she said not to "rogis;" that then, at the names of the kings of France and Spain, she shook her head, but at the name of the king of Scotland she made a sign expressive of her assent. Molino's report. MS. at Greystoke castle.

great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and seafaring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind, and diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. Their views became expanded; their powers were called into action; and the example of successful adventure furnished a powerful stimulus to the talent and industry of the nation. Men in every profession looked forward to wealth and independence; all were eager to start in the race of improvement.

The other cause may be discovered in the system of foreign policy adopted by the ministers; a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith, but which, in the result, proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebellion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress; and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing among the dikes and sand-banks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise on the scale of reputation and power.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice\*.

\* It is moreover observed by one who had the means of judging, that, "When the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honour and understanding; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the council were in great straites to defende their owne actinge, and not blemyshe the queen's goode judgmente. Herein hir wyse men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the lorde treasurer woude ofte shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so muche to

Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion; generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled; she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred; but, if we condemn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the despatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation\*.

It may be that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices: but there is reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind†. To deliberate appears to have been her delight, to resolve her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bed-chamber no less than the lords of her council: but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and

"mende the matter itself as his mistresse's humor." *Harington, Nugæ Ant.* i. 357.

\* Of these artifices many instances occur in the preceding pages. See also *Winwood*, i. 20. ii. 93.

† Complaints of her irresolution perpetually occur in the private letters of her ministers, particularly of sir Thomas Smith. "What can I write, when I can have no resolution, by daily attending, for the most part three or four times in the day. It maketh me weary of my life. . . I can neither get the other letters signed, nor the letter already signed permitted to be sent away, but day by day, and hour by hour, deferred till anon, sone, and to-morrow." *Smith to Burghley*, 6 Mar., 1574. I consider this irresolution not as arising from policy, but constitutional, because she betrayed it in matters of little importance. Even in her progresses no one could be certain on what day, or to what place, she would go. She is described as changing her mind almost every hour.

then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose as it had already cost to bring her to it. The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen: in public they employed all their ingenuity to skreen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterized as folly\*.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites, her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise could not be denied; but they contended that, in their mistress, it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low: she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service: yet there were others who, by the sale of places and of patronage†, by grants and monopolies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connexion with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains

\* Digges, 199, 203. Sir Thomas Smith complained to the lord treasurer that the queen's mind was "sometimes so, and sometimes no; and in all times uncertain, and ready to stays and revocation." This her irresolution "did weary and kill her ministers, destroy her actions, and overthrow all good designs and counsels." Strype's Sir T. Smith, 139. Of this innumerable proofs are to be met with in the letters of that period.

† The sale of patronage extended even to the ladies of the court. From a letter in Birch it appears that lady Edmonds had refused the offer of 100*l.* for her interest with the queen in a cause in chancery. "This ruffianry of causes," says the writer, "I am daily more and more acquainted with: which groweth by the queen's straitness to give these women: whereby they presume thus to grange and huck causes." Birch, i. 354. See also Ellis, 2nd ser. 111. 191. 2.

upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased, as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped; expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale, and for too short a period; and the very apprehension of present, served only to entail on her future and enormous expense.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing: on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother, but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies, dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading descriptions of her court we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an eastern princess. When Hentzner saw her, she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals, between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword. Elizabeth followed; and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees. She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face; her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent. The collar of the garter hung from her neck; and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Her train, of great length, was borne by a marchioness; behind her followed a number of noble ladies, mostly dressed in white; and on each side

stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes, and in splendid uniforms.

The traveller next proceeded to the dining-room. Two gentlemen entered to lay the cloth, two to bring the queen's plate, salt, and bread. All, before they approached the table, and when they retired from it, made three genuflexions. Then came a single and a married lady, performing the same ceremonies. The first rubbed the plate with bread and salt; the second gave a morsel of meat to each of the yeomen of the guard, who brought in the different courses; and at the same time the hall echoed to the sound of twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums. But the queen dined that day in private; and, after a short pause, her maids of honour entered in procession, and with much reverence and solemnity took the dishes from the table, and carried them into an inner apartment\*.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between themselves and their sovereign†, she condescended to court the good will of the common people. In the country they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her; she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure: but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode‡.

From the elevation of the throne, we may now follow her into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great: she had studied under experienced

\* Hentzner, 134--6.

† The highest officers in the state, if they asked any favours for themselves or others, asked it on their knees. See Syd. pap. i. 395.

‡ Naunton, 88.



masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages: but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth\*. The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight; and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit which was universally admired†. She retained her partiality for it to the last: few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine‡.

Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages: there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own harms: but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people, that none of the portraits which had hitherto been taken of her person, did justice to the original; that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects; and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever, to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without license, or to show or publish any of the old por-

\*Lansdowne MSS. No. 840. B. p. 159.

† Stanhope writes in 1589, "The Q. is so well as I assure you VI or VII galliards in a morning besides musycke and synging, is her ordynary exercise." Lodge, ii. 41. Sydney papers, i. 375. 385. ii. 203. 262. Lodge, iii. 144.

‡ "The duke of Nevers was honorablye entertayned by her majestie; she daunced with hym, and courted hym in the best manner: he on the other syde used many complementes, as kissing her hand, yea and foote when she shewed hym her legg." Ap. 28, 1602. She opened the ball with him. Von Raumer, ii. 180. "The queene hath bene pleased to have many pleasant discourses with hym, (Virginio Orisini, duke of Graciano) and to daunce before hym." Jan. 13, 1602.

traits till they had been re-formed according to the copy to be set forth by authority\*.

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed, it seemed rather to become more craving by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric, she exacted the same homage to her faded charms, as had been paid to her youth; and all who addressed her, were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

But however highly she might think of her person, she did not despise the aid of external ornament†. At her death, two, some say three, thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, and at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen whose houses she had honoured with her presence‡. To the austere notions of

\* From the original corrected by Cecil, in 1563, and printed in the *Archæologia*, ii. 169, 170.

† "In her later time, when she showed herself in public, she was always "magificent in apparel, supposing haply thereby that the eyes of the "people (being dazzled by the glittering aspect of these her outward ornaments,) would not so easily discern the marks of age, and decay of "nature and beauty." Ellis, 2 ser. iii. 191.—"It was commonly observed "this Christmas that her majestie, when she came to be seen, was continually painted, not only all over her face, but her very necke and "breste also." Jan 13, 1602. MS. letter.

‡ In the lists of presents which she received on these occasions, we find every article of dress, even to body linen. The following account may perhaps amuse the reader. "At her first lighting at the lord keeper's "she had a fine fanne with a handle, garnisht with diamonds; in the "middle was a nosegay, and in yt a very rich jewel, valued at 40*l.* at "least. After dinner in her privy chamber he gave her a faire paire of "virginals: in her bed-chamber he presented her with a fine gown and a "juppin (petticoat), which things were pleasing to her highness; and to "grace his lordship the more, *she of herself tooke from him* a salte, a "spoon, and a forké of faire agatte." Sydney papers, i. 376. As late as December 6th before her death, she dined with sir Robert Cecil, and accepted from him presents to the value of 2000 crowns. Carte from Beaumont's Despatches, iii. 701.—"On Monday the 6th her majestie dyed "with Mr. Secretary. He gave her ten several gifts, the most part very

the bishop of London, this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven: but she told her ladies, that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit *him* for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him\*.

In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths; in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words: not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state, felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear to the earl marshal, and she spat on sir Matthew Arundel, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended†.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of "the virgin queen." But the woman who despises the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain: but her feelings were soon blunted by passion; in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber; and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame‡. But Dudley, though the most

"rich jewells. The Q. was merrye and well pleased: at her departure, she refused helpe to enter her barge, wherby stumbling she fell, and a little bruised her shyns." Dec. 15, 1602. MS. letter.

\* Nugæ Antiquæ, 176. "Perchance," says Harrington, "the bishop hath never sought her highness' wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text."

† Nugæ Ant. 167. 176.

‡ Quandra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, in the beginning of 1561, informs the king, that according to common belief, the queen

favoured, was not considered as her only lover; among his rivals were numbered Hatton, and Raleigh, and Oxford, and Blount, and Simier, and Anjou; and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age\*. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, "all enormities reigned in the highest degree †," or according to Harrington, "where there was no "love, but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmo-deus ‡."

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld the principles of government, established by her father, the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject§. The doc-

"lived with Dudley;" that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, showed him the situation of her apartment and bed-chamber, la disposicion de su camera y alcoba. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in a lower story of the palace was unwholesome, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber: una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana. In September of the same year these rumours derived additional credit from the change in the queen's appearance. "La reyna (a lo que entiendo) se hace hydropica, y comienza ya a hincharse notablemente . . . lo que se parece es que anda discarda y flaca en extremo, y con un color de muerta . . . que la marquesa di Nowmton y milady Coban tengan a la reyna por pelegrosa y hydropica, no hay duda." See note (S). The original despatches are at Simancas, with several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth and her court. See note (S) at the end for the account of a supposed son of Elizabeth and Leicester.

\* Osborn, Memoirs, 33.

† Birch, i. 39. In another letter he says, "the only discontent I have, "is to live where there is so little godliness and exercise of religion, so "dissolute manners and corrupt conversation generally, which I find to "be worse than when I knew the place first." August 1, 1582. Birch, i. 25.

‡ Nugæ Antiquæ, 166. April 4, 1595.

§ It was observed by Michele, the Venetian ambassador, in the time of Mary, that "in point of fact the kings of England were become absolute lords and masters; and that, like the grand Turk, they had established a council similar to that of the Bashaw, who pretty nearly in the manner of the Bashaws, assembled together, constituted themselves masters not only of the people and public ministers, but also of ambassadors and princes, sent their written mandates through the land, commanded in the most

trine, with which the lord keeper Bacon opened her first parliament, was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that, if the queen consulted the two houses it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent. She possessed by her prerogative whatever was requisite for the government of the realm. She could, at her pleasure, suspend the operation of existing statutes, or issue proclamations which should have the force of law. In her opinion the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiae of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests. To the lower house she granted, indeed, freedom of debate: but it was to be a decent freedom, the liberty of "saying ay or no;" and those that transgressed that decency were liable, as we have repeatedly seen, to feel the weight of the royal displeasure\*.

A foreigner, who had been ambassador in England, informs us, that under Elizabeth the administration of justice was more corrupt than under her predecessors†. We have not the means of instituting the comparison. But we know that in her first year the policy of Cecil substituted men of inferior rank in the place of the former magistrates; that numerous complaints were heard of their tyranny, peculation, and rapacity; and that a justice of the peace was defined in parliament to be "an animal, who, for half a dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen laws ‡:" nor shall we form a

authoritative manner, and required most punctual obedience, as if their resolutions proceeded from the king himself." Ellis, series, ii. 235.

\* D'Ewes, 460. 469. 640. 644. 616. 651. 675. There is a curious instance of her interference in election in the Loseley MSS. The celebrated borough of Gatton was the property of the Copleys, and the nomination of the representatives was possessed by Mrs. Copley. But that lady was not considered as well affected: on which account the queen ordered that her own nominees, or at least well affected persons, should be returned. p. 212.

† Du Vair in Carte, iii. 702. There are many instances of applications to the queen to interfere. Nugæ Ant. i. 118. 373. Ellis, ii. 299. 2 ser. iii. 89.

‡ D'Ewes, 661.

very exalted notion of the integrity of the higher courts, if we recollect that the judges were removable at the royal pleasure, and that the queen herself was in the habit of receiving, and permitting her favourites and ladies to receive, bribes as the price of her or their interference in the suits of private individuals \*.

Besides the judicial tribunals, which remain to the present day, there were, in the age of Elizabeth, several other courts the arbitrary constitution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject; the court of high commission, for the cognizance of religious offences; the court of star-chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority; courts of commissioners appointed occasionally for the public or private trial of offences, and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Whatever could be supposed to have the remotest tendency to sedition, was held to subject the offender to martial law; the murder of a naval or military officer, the importation of disloyal or traitorous books, or the resort to one place of several persons who possessed not the visible means of subsistence. Thus, in 1595, under the pretence that the vagabonds in the neighbourhood of London were not to be restrained by the usual punishments, she ordered sir Thomas Wyllford to receive from the magistrates the most notorious and incorrigible of these offenders, and "to execute them upon the gallows, according to the justice of martial law†."

Another, and intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were

\* "It is growen for a trede nowe in the courte to make meanes for reprieves: twenty pounds for a reprieve is nothing, though it be but for bare ten days." Recorder Fleetwood, in Wright, ii. 247.

† Rymer, xvi. 279, 280.

ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition,

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions, who had been condemned by the star-chamber to suffer punishment for a riot; in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down inclosures, and restore tillage; each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and both the apprentices in London, and the men of Oxfordshire, suffered the barbarous death of traitors\*.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable, in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. I know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants: but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the monies raised by forced loans: of which it is observed by Naunton, that "she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit " of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or

\* Howell's State Trials, 1421.

“could have taken up, that were a hundred years before  
“her\*.”

The historians, who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth, have described with a glowing pencil the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery, drawn by the catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties, of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes, many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust; new families had sprung up in their place; and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogised the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation; it was that of one half obtained at the expense of the other.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized, have long since withered away; the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience, has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book; and the result has proved, that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne, than to the happiness of the people.

\* Naunton, p. 88.



## APPENDIX.

NOTE (A), Page 15.

WHETHER the letters produced by Murray at York and Westminster were genuine or not is a question which has given birth to a voluminous controversy. If the reader wish to see it treated at length, he may have recourse to Goodall, Tytler, Robertson, Hume, Stuart, Whitaker, and Laing. I shall only subjoin a few remarks.

1°. From the mere perusal of the letters, the reader would conclude that Bothwell and Mary were the only conspirators. Now if she were an accomplice, she must have known how deeply Maitland and Morton were concerned in the plot: and yet, with respect to them, she is as guarded in the letters, as if they had been written by themselves. I observe the same in all the confessions taken previously to the conferences at York and Westminster. There Maitland and Morton are never mentioned. But, after the conferences, Maitland deserted the party; then the confession of Paris was taken; and then for the first time we meet with hints of the guilt of Maitland. All this wears the appearance of fraud.

2°. When the casket was exhibited before the English commissioners, it contained, not only letters, but contracts and sonnets, which Morton swore he had found in it when it first came into his possession. Yet in the preceding December, nothing but letters were produced from it, or said to be contained in it, before the council or the parliament. How came the contracts and sonnets to be then suppressed, if they existed at all?

Mr. Laing pretends that the objection arises from ignorance. Englishmen are not aware that almost all kinds of writing were called letters in the Scottish dialect. But, admitting this, it may be asked, whether any writings but epistolary correspondence, were called "*privie* lettars." They were privy letters, on which the act of council, and the act of parliament were founded.

3°. On the 4th of December, Murray and twenty-seven privy councillors described these letters as written and *subscribed* by the queen : ten days later the parliament represented them, not as subscribed at all by her, (nor was it ever afterwards pretended) but as “written hale-  
“lie,” (wholly) with her own hand. This alteration furnishes another ground of suspicion.

I shall not notice the answers of Hume and Robertson. Mr. Laing suggests that *and* is a mistake of the copyist for *or* ; and that it was in the original “written  
“or subscribed with her own hand :” in the same manner as Murray and his associates, in their declaration make oath, that they are written *or* subscribed by her. (Goodall, ii. 92.)

This appears to me the best answer that has yet been given. It does not, however, entirely do away the difficulty. That some correction in the act of council was thought necessary, preparatory to its being laid before parliament, appears from the introduction of the word “halelie,” and the omission of the word “subscribed ;” and it should be observed that, in the passage quoted from Murray, the letters are expressly distinguished from the contracts and sonnets. No such distinction is to be found in the act of council.

4°. There is a strong chronological objection, which Mr. Laing labours in vain to remove. The two first letters are said to have been written on the 23rd and 24th of January, and to have been answered from Edinburgh by Bothwell on the 24th and 25th. The last answer was written by him after dinner. Now, if we believe Murray’s Diary, Bothwell left Edinburgh to go into Liddesdale, on the night of the 24th, and returned only on the 28th. Here is evidently a contradiction.

To solve the difficulty, Mr. Laing pretends that Bothwell did not leave Edinburgh till the evening of the 25th ; that he then went in company with Maitland to consult Morton at Whittingham ; and that they returned together on the 28th. To conceal their conference, it was thought best to say, that they had been into Liddesdale, and to antedate the time of their departure, on account of the greater length of the journey.

But, 1°. if this be true, what credit can be given to any documents produced by such witnesses ? The men

who could falsify the diary to screen Morton and Maitland, might equally falsify letters to convict Mary. 2°. The whole is a fiction. The earl of Bedford, on the 23rd, wrote to Elizabeth, that the meeting at Whittingham had already taken place. Of course the 25th is several days too late.

5°. Mary is represented as writing two of the letters, one on a very trifling subject, on the two nights that she remained at the house of Kirk-o'-field. This almost exceeds belief. Bothwell had but just left her; he was gone no further than his lodgings in Holyrood house; he would be in her company in the morning; and yet the queen, instead of retiring to rest, sits up to write to him letters of no consequence, and sends a servant after midnight to awaken him out of his sleep, and deliver them into his hands?

6°. If Mary wrote the letters at all, it would be in the French language. It has been proved beyond contradiction, that the French letters which we have, are not originals, but translations. This was thought a most victorious proof of the forgery. But Mr. Laing has victoriously refuted it, by showing that our French letters are not copies of the original French letters, but, by the avowal of the editor, translations made by him from a Latin translation. The letters had been "tra- duites entierement en Latin;" and the editor, "n'ayant connoissance de la langue Escossoise, aima mieux exprimer tout ce qu'il avoit trouvé en Latin." Apud Laing, i. 270. There is little probability, therefore, that the original French letters will ever be laid before the public. A copy of one alone has been discovered and published by Laing, from the state-paper office. (ii. 102.) It is one of the least important, No. IV. but much more intelligible than any of the translations, and of a nature to make us regret the loss of the others.

7°. For my own part I have little doubt that the letters were for the most part written by Mary. But, in this hypothesis, two questions will arise, to which her adversaries will not be able to give satisfactory answers. 1°. To whom were they written? Those in the casket were exhibited without any address. For aught we know, they might be written to different persons. Two

of them appear to me to have been letters sent by her long before to Darnley. 2°. Were they originally written, as they afterwards appeared? It was easy to collect several of the queen's letters, to omit some passages, alter others, insert hints here and there, and by describing them as written to Bothwell, and on particular occasions, to give to them a character of criminality, which they did not originally possess. This appears to me to have been the meaning of the queen's lords in their instructions, Sept. 12, 1568, where they say, that "in the writings produced in parliament, there was no plain mention made, by the which her highness might be convicted, albeit it were her own hand writ, *as it was not*; and also the same was *culled by themselves in some principal and substantious clauses.*" Goodall, ii. 361. Laing, i. 208.

8°. We have before seen, that a copy of the Scottish translation had been furtively communicated to the queen before the conferences. Hence she was better prepared to instruct her commissioners. Her words to them are, "In case they allege they have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption against me in this case, you shall desire the principals (originals) to be produced, and that I myself have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm in my name, I never writ any thing concerning that matter to any creature: and, if any such writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dishonour and slander: and there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my hand-writing, and write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves. And I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, but I would have gotten knowledge of the inventors and writers of such writing ere now, to the declaration of my innocence, and confusion of their falsehood." Goodall, ii. 342. But Murray, though he had exhibited what he called the originals to Elizabeth's commissioners, never, even after this challenge from Mary, allowed them to be seen by the Scottish queen or by her agents.

## NOTE (B), Page 75.

During these conferences Morton received a letter from Frederick king of Denmark, directed to Lennox the Scottish regent. A captain Clark, who had formerly received a commission to levy soldiers for the Dane in Scotland, had been persuaded to aid, with the troops under his orders, the associated lords, when they met Mary and Bothwell on Carberry hill. Bothwell in Denmark remembered the injury, and revenged himself by some accusation which he brought against Clark, perhaps on this very ground, that he had employed Danish soldiers against the Scottish queen. Both Elizabeth and Lennox wrote earnestly to Frederick in favour of the accused, and demanded that Bothwell should be sent to England or Scotland, that he might be punished for the murder of Darnley. (See the letters in Laing, ii. 331. 1569, 1570.) It was the answer of the king (January 20, 1571), sent by Thomas Buchanan, which fell into the hands of Morton. His anxiety to know the contents induced him to open it; and he kept it by him nearly a month before he forwarded it to the regent. His excuse for opening it was, that "he judged some things might be specified in it, which it might be expedient to be remembered upon there" (in London): and for not sending it, his apprehensions that it might be intercepted, "for that he had no will the contents of the same should be known, fearing that some words and matters mentioned in the same, being dispersed as news, should rather have injured than furthered the cause." Elizabeth requested to see the letter; but he, pretending that he had sent the original away, gave her a copy, in which he omitted what he "thought not meet to be shown." (March 24, 1571. Goodall, ii. 382.)

It is probable that in this letter there was some account of Bothwell's defence of himself, implicating Morton, and perhaps vindicating Mary: for it was calculated "to hinder, not further the cause." The letter was never seen afterwards: but it appears that the king refused to deliver up Bothwell, unless the English queen

and the estates would bind themselves by solemn writings, which should be sent to Denmark against the 24th of August, that Bothwell should have a fair trial. Lennox (May 25) asked the advice of Elizabeth on this subject. With her answer we are not acquainted. Tytler, ii. 198—204.

I will here add, on the subject of Bothwell, a clause in the act of forfeiture against him, which was purposely omitted in the copy sent to Elizabeth. "In dicto mense Aprilis dilectos consiliarios nostros Georgium comitem de Huntlie cancellarium nostrum, Wilelmum Maitland de Lethingtoun Juniorem secretarium, secreti consilii ac sessionis dominos, quum alloquium eorum amanter desideraret, quum nihil minus suspicarent, captivos apprehendit, ac in dicto castro de Dunbar incarceravit eos ad spacium decem dierum aut eocirca, detinendo eos, assentire cogendo, saltem dicere quod assentiebant, ad promovendum omnia sua proditoria et nepharia facinora, precipue matrimonium pretensum inter eum et dictam clarissimam matrem nostram. Inde manifestissime crimen lese majestatis incurrendo, autoritatemque regiam in se acceptando, dictis consiliariis nostris minime vocatis, aut pro ullo crimine arrestatis, nullam ad hoc commissionem habendo." Act. Parl. iii. p. 8. Hence it appears that Huntley and Maitland were not dismissed the next morning, as is asserted by Melville, but remained at Dunbar, probably in concert with Bothwell.

#### NOTE (C), Page 106.

Here in the first edition I introduced a note, which led to an interesting controversy whether the massacre was an accidental occurrence, or the result of a premeditated plot. That controversy, as it appears to me, has been now set at rest by the publication (in the 3rd vol. of Mackintosh) of the secret despatches of Salviati, the nuncio at Paris, to the cardinal secretary of Rome, for the information of the pontiff. On the 24th of August he wrote an account of the occurrence in ordinary characters, evidently under the notion that in such circum-

stances his despatch would probably be intercepted and opened on the road): but to this he added another and real statement of the case in cipher: that the queen regent, in consequence of the ascendancy which Coligny had acquired over the royal mind, an ascendancy which gave to him in a manner the government of the kingdom (quasi governava), consulted with the duchess of Nemours, and resolved to rid herself of his control by the assassination of the admiral. The duke of Guise provided the assassin; and the duke of Anjou, but not the king, was privy to the attempt. The queen, however, when she saw that the admiral did not die of his wound, and considered the great danger to which she was now exposed, alarmed also by her own consciousness, and by the threatening speeches of the whole body of the huguenots, who would not believe that the arquebuse had been discharged by an assassin employed by the duke of Alva, as she had persuaded herself that she could make them believe, had recourse to the king, and exhorted him to adopt the plan of the general massacre which followed. "*Vedendo la regente che l' amiraglio non moriva, e vedendo a quanto pericolo si era esposta, et della propria conscientia insospetita, et dalle insolente parole che uscivano da tutta la Ugonotteria, che in modo alcuno volle accomodarsi a credere, che l' archibusata fosse stata tirata da insidiatore mandato dal duca d' Alva, secondo che sempre lei si era persuasa de dover dare loro a credere, si volse al Rè, esortandolo a la uccisione seguita di tutti.*"

It appears that the cardinal secretary, in his answer to this despatch—probably on account of the different reports current in Rome—put to the nuncio several questions respecting the cause, the authors, and the circumstances of the massacre. Salviati, in reply, wrote two notes on the 22nd of September. In the first he says, "with regard to the three points, 1°. who it was "that caused, and for what reason that person caused, "the arquebuse to be discharged at the admiral; 2°. "and who it was to whom the subsequent resolution of "so numerous a massacre must be ascribed; 3°. and "who were the executors of the massacre, with the names "of the principal leaders; I know that I have already

“sent you an account, and that in that account I have not fallen into the least error. If I have omitted to mention some other particulars, the chief reason is the difficulty of coming at the truth in this country.”—  
 “Chi facesse tirar l’archibugiata all’ Amiraglio, et per che causa, et a chi si debba attribuire l’ ultima risoluzione dell’ amazzamento di tanti, e quali fussino gli executori con il nome di capi principali, *io so d’ haver giàne scritto, et che non mi sono gabbato punto.* E se ho lasciato di scrivere alcuni altri partiere, n’ e stato potissima causa la difficoltà che e in questo paese a ritrovare la verità delle cose.”

This passage was written in ordinary characters: but he wrote the same day in cipher the following repetition of his former statement:—“Time will show whether there be any truth in all the other accounts which you may have read, of the wounding and the death of the admiral, that differ from what I wrote to you. The queen regent, being grown jealous of him, came to a resolution a few days before, and caused the arquebuse to be discharged at him without the knowledge of the king, but with the participation of the duke of Anjou, and of the duchess of Nemours, and of her son the duke of Guise. Had he died immediately, no one else would have perished. But he did not die; and they began to expect some great evil: wherefore, closeting themselves in consultation with the king, they determined to throw shame aside, and to cause him to be assassinated together with the others: a determination which was carried into execution that very night.”—“Tutte le cose che si saranno lette del archibusata e morte del Amiraglio, diverse da quelle che io gli scrisse, col tempo si accorgiera se siano vere. Mad. la Regente venuta in differenza (diffidenza?) di lui, risolvendosi pochi giorni prima, gli la fece tirare, e senza saputa del Rè, ma con participatione di M. di Angiu, di Mad. de Nemours, et di M. di Guisa, suo figlo. E se moriva subito, non si amazzava altro: e non essendo morto, e dubitando lei di qualche gran male, restringendosi con il Rè, deliberono di buttare la vergogna da banda, e di farlo am-



mazzare insieme con li altri: e quella notte istessa fu mandato a esecutione."

Evidence more satisfactory than this we cannot desire, if we consider the situation of the writer, the object for which he wrote, and the time and opportunity which he possessed of correcting any error that might have crept into his previous communication: and from this evidence it plainly follows, that the general massacre was not originally contemplated, but grew out of the unexpected failure of the attempt already made on the life of the admiral.

NOTE (D), Pages 155 and 189.

Sir Henry Ellis (2nd ser. iii. 86.) has published Flete-woode's account to lord Burghley of his searches for priests. The following account of such searches occurs in a contemporary manuscript:—"Then are these  
 "searchers oft tymes soe rude and barbarouse that, yf  
 "the dores be not opened in the instant when they  
 "would enter, they breake open the dores with all violence as yf they were to sacke a town of enemies wone  
 "by the sword. Then it hath been usuall with purse-  
 "vants to rune up the staires and into the chambers  
 "with their drowen swordes, enoughe to drive the  
 "weaker sort of woemen and children owt of their witts.  
 "Then they begine to breake of locks and open all the  
 "dores of the house presently, that they may at one  
 "tyme search in many places. Then yf they find noe  
 "priest nor suspected persons for priests in any of the  
 "chambers or closetts, they goe presently to search for  
 "secret places, and this they doe most cunningly and  
 "strictly, soundinge the flowers and walls to see yf they  
 "can finde any hollow places. They doe alsoe measure  
 "the walls of the house and goe round about the house  
 "on the owt side to see yf on part do answer to an other  
 "in hope to find some voyd part left hollow wherein a  
 "man may be hidde. Sometymes yf the walls be not  
 "made of stone, but of wainsecoate or other weake matter, they will thrust thourow it with their swords in  
 "many places, hopinge that in some place or other they

“light uppon a priest, and this they doe alsoe in the  
 “roofes of the house uppon supposition there may be  
 “some conveighance though they can not find the  
 “entrie into it. . . . But the searchers yf they find  
 “any likely cause of suspition, not contented with that  
 “dangerouse maner of triall with their swords, they  
 “then breake down the walls wholly, and enter them-  
 “selves to searche with candells and torches in all such  
 “darke places, and in house tops, where sometym  
 “nothings but mise or birds have comne of many  
 “years. . . . When the searchers find not any priest  
 “for all this cruell diligence they have used, they will  
 “not yet give over; but supposinge there is or may be  
 “some so secretly hidden that yet he is there, for all  
 “that they have done: then they appoint a watch about  
 “the house and everie part thereof, of 50 or 60 men  
 “and sometym more and these with guns and bills,  
 “&c., and this they keepe for many dayes together (in-  
 “tendinge to starve him owt) sometymes for 6 yea 10  
 “and 12 dayes continuance. Sometymes alsoe they place  
 “watche men in the chambers of the house within  
 “bothe to keepe that noe catholicke shall stir to relieve  
 “the priest (though commonly they make them sure  
 “for that by lockinge them up all in one part of the  
 “house together which they meane least to search as  
 “beinge least suspected) and besides that they may  
 “harken yf any little stirringe be behind a wall, yea to  
 “the breathing or coughing of a priest.”—Gerard’s  
 MS. 23.

NOTE (E), Page 155.

The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower.

1°. The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ancles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

2°. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet. See Bartoli, 250.

3°. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out at my finger ends. This was a mistake: but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted; and when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting me in their arms: they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times." Apud Bartoli, 418.

4°. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, nor lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days.

I will add a few lines from Rishton's Diary, that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

Dec. 5, 1580. Several catholics were brought from different prisons.

Dec. 10. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirbye, priests (two of the number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose.

Dec. 15. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack.

Dec. 16. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack.

Dec. 31. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman.

1581, Jan. 3. Christopher Thomson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day.

Jan. 14. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked.

Thus he continues till June 21, 1585, when he was discharged. See his *Diarium*, at the end of his edition of Sanders.

NOTE (F), Pages 151 and 193.

Campian and Persons had obtained from Gregory XIII. a declaration that that part of the bull of Pius V., which forbade any person to pay obedience to Elizabeth, should not bind the English catholics in existing circumstances, or till the sentence could be put in execution. (Camden, 348. Philopater, 169.) From this it was inferred, with great appearance of reason, that both missionaries admitted the deposing power; and that, in an attempt to enforce the bull, they would join the enemies of the queen. It is, however, fair to hear what they and their friends said in their behalf; that they disapproved of the bull; and would have procured its revocation, if it had been possible; but, according to the custom of the court of Rome, no censure could be revoked, except at the petition of the party censured. They endeavoured, therefore, to do the only thing in their power; they procured it to be mitigated in the manner mentioned above; and they trusted that in this they had done an acceptable service to the queen. For hitherto she professed to doubt the loyalty of her catholic subjects, on account of the bull; now she could have no

fear on that head, except in case of an actual attempt to enforce it : a case which in all probability would never arrive. The bull of Clement VII. against Henry VIII. had died away unnoticed, that of Pius against Elizabeth would do the same, if the English council would only permit it. State Trials, 1057. Allen, Defence, c. iv. This declaration, which was not known till after the death of Campian, gave birth to the six queries put to the missionaries, respecting their opinions with regard to the deposing power, and their future behaviour in the event of an attempt to execute the bull. There is reason to suspect that the answers were not correctly given in the report published by authority : but there can be no doubt that most of them were evasive and unsatisfactory. The following is the account which Campian gave in court of his own answer to questions of the same import.

“ The self-same articles (as had been put to him “ by the queen) were required of me by the commis-  
sioners, but I was much more urged to the point of  
“ supremacy, and to further supposals, than I could  
“ think of. I said, indeed, they were bloody questions, and  
“ very pharisaical, undermining of my life ; whereunto I  
“ answered as Christ did to the dilemma ; Give unto  
“ Cæsar that is due to Cæsar, and to God that to God be-  
“ longeth ! I acknowledged her highness as my gover-  
ness and sovereign. I acknowledged her majesty both  
“ *de facto et de jure* to be queen. I confessed an obedience  
“ due to the crown, as to my temporal head and primate.  
“ This I said then, this I say now. If, then, I failed in  
“ aught, I am now ready to supply it. What would you  
“ more ? I willingly pay to her majesty what is hers ;  
“ yet I must pay to God what is his. Then, as for ex-  
communicating her majesty, it was exacted of me,  
“ admitting that excommunication were of effect, and  
“ that the pope had sufficient authority so to do, whether  
“ then I thought myself discharged of my allegiance or  
“ no ? I said this was a dangerous question, and they  
“ that demanded this, demanded my blood. But I  
“ never admitted any such matter ; neither ought I to  
“ be wrested with any such suppositions. What then, say  
“ they, because I would not answer flatly to that I could  
“ not, forsooth I sought corners ; mine answers were aloof.

“ Well ; since once more it must needs be answered, I say generally, that these matters be merely spiritual points of doctrine, and disputable in the schools ; no part of mine indictment, not to be given in evidence, and unfit to be discussed at the king’s bench. To conclude, they are no matters of fact ; they be not in the trial of the country ; the jury ought not to take notice of them ; for although I doubt not but they are very discreet men, and trained up in great use and experience of controversies and debates, pertinent to their callings, yet they are laymen, they are unfit judges to decide so deep a question.” (Howell, 1062.)

I have inserted this answer at full length, for two reasons : 1°. It contradicts the account published by government : that, when he was asked “ whether he did, at that present, acknowledge her majesty to be a true and lawful queen, or a pretended queen, and deprived, and in possession of the crown only *de facto*, ” he answered, that question depended on the fact of “ Pius V., whereof he was not judge, and therefore refused further to answer.” (Howell, 1078.) 2°. It shows that the real question between the government and the prisoners was not, that they denied the queen’s right, and strove to withdraw her subjects from their allegiance (for they acknowledged her “ to be their sovereign both *de facto* and *de jure*, and that obedience was due to her as their temporal head and “ primate”), but whether, in certain hypothetical cases, the pope possessed the power to depose princes. Three answered in the negative ; two candidly confessed that, in their opinion, he had ; the others are said to have refused to answer, or to have replied that the question was a matter of dispute among the learned, and that they were unable to pronounce, either one way or the other.

The innocence of the sufferers as to the treason for which they had been condemned, was believed by numbers. Their death was attributed to hatred of their religion ; and, to relieve the government from the odium of persecution, lord Burghley published a tract, entitled ; “ The execution of justice for maintenance of public

“and christian peace against the stirrers of sedition, &c.” (It is printed in Somers’s Tracts, i. 192.) He maintained that all were spared, who were willing to renounce their treasons; and those only put to death, who would not disavow the pope’s bull, by which all the queen’s subjects were discharged from their allegiance. Dr. Allen replied by “A true, sincere, and modest defence of christian catholics, that suffered for their faith at home and abroad, &c.” It was easy for him to show, that many had been put to death, to whom no other treason had been objected, but that of exercising the functions of the priesthood; and that thousands had been fined, imprisoned, and despoiled of all their property, for no other offence but the practice of religious worship. He maintained, that the companions of Campian had not been guilty of the treason for which they suffered; and that the answers they had given to the six queries ought to have been deemed satisfactory. He observed that the deposing power, and the validity of the bull of Pius V., were subjects never allowed to be debated in the seminaries, or by the missionaries in England; that it was unwise in the government to bring them into public discussion; but since it had been done, he was not unwilling to give his own opinion. The real question was this; could subjects lawfully rise against their prince in defence of their religion? That they could, was plain: 1°. from the authority of Calvin, Beza, Zwingle, Goodman, Knox, Luther, and the Magdeburgh divines, whose opinions he transcribed; 2°. from the conduct of the reformers in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands; and, 3°. from the conduct of Elizabeth herself, who would never have aided with money and troops the Scottish, French, and Flemish insurgents, had she not been persuaded that rebellion was lawful in the cause of religion. This being established, he proceeds to inquire if it be more for the common good of society, that the decision of the fact, whether the grievance is such as to authorize resistance by force, should be left to the judgment of the people aggrieved, or of the pope, the common father of all. Of course he maintains the latter part of the alternative;

and then endeavours to support it by the authority of two catholic divines, of the council of Lateran, and of examples from the Old Testament. Allen, *Defence*, c. iv.

To suppress this tract, Aldfield, who had brought to England a number of copies, was prosecuted on a charge of high treason. In the indictment, several passages were transcribed (some of them very unfairly): wherever Allen spoke of kings in general, the innuendo charged him with meaning the queen in particular; and it was contended, that the object of the work was to raise rebellion in the realm, and to procure the dethronement of the sovereign. Aldfield suffered the death of a traitor. See the indictment in *Strype*, iii. App. 121.

At the same time another catholic clergyman of the name of Bishop, a zealous missionary, maintained the contrary doctrine. Assuming that the prisoners had suffered themselves to be deceived by the authority of the council of Lateran, he undertook to show that the celebrated canon of that council was in reality a private decree of Innocent III., that it had never been acknowledged in England, and that no canons whatever had been published by the council itself. *Camden*, 380. Shortly afterwards, another of the name of Wright maintained the same opinion. *Strype*, iii. 251.

NOTE (G), Page 180.

If we may believe *Camden*, in 1583, the discontent of the catholics induced them to print books, in which they exhorted the queen's maids to treat her, as Judith treated Holofernes. (*Camden*, 411.) If this were true, they could not have devised a plan more likely to defeat its own object.

The book to which he alludes, was "a Treatise of Schisme, by Gregorie Martin, Licentiate in Divinitie, Duaci, apud Joannem Foulcerum, 1578." In the second chapter the author enumerates, from the Old Testament, instances of persons who had refused to participate in any kind of worship which they deemed unlawful. The third instance is that of Tobias: for the fourth he proceeds thus: "Judith foloweth, whose



“godlye and constant wisdom, if our catholike gentle-  
 “women would folowe, they might destroye Holofernes,  
 “the master heretike, and amase all his retinew, and  
 “never defile their religion by communicating with  
 “them in anye smale poynt. She came to please Holo-  
 “fernes, but yet in her religion she would not yeelede so  
 “much as to eate of his meates, but brought of her  
 “owne with her, and told him plainelye, that being in  
 “his house, yet she must serve her Lorde and God stil,  
 “desiring for that purpose libertie once a-day to goe in  
 “and out of the gate. ‘I may not eate of that which  
 “‘thou commandest me, lest I incurr God’s displea-  
 “‘sure.’”

In 1580, this book was reprinted by William Carter, who, in 1583, was indicted of treason, inasmuch as by the publication he had imagined the death of the queen and the subversion of the reformed church. At his trial the passage quoted above was that alleged against him. By Holofernes, the master heretic, was understood, so the crown lawyers contended, the queen, and by the destruction of Holofernes, was intended the queen’s death. Carter replied, 1°. By protesting before God, that he had never taken the passage in that sense, nor ever known it to be so taken by others. 2°. By asserting, what every impartial man must see, that it had a very different meaning. The whole object of the author was to warn his brethren against the sin of schism. For this purpose he advised the catholic gentlewomen to imitate Judith; as she abstained from profane meats, so ought they to abstain from all communication with others, in a worship which they believed to be schismatical. By doing this, they would destroy Holofernes. The expression was metaphorical. By Holofernes was meant Satan, the author of heresy, and the enemy of their salvation, whom they would overcome by their constancy in their religion, and their rejection of a schismatical service. But Carter’s reasoning was not admitted, and he suffered as a traitor. (Bridgewater, 127—134.) After an attentive perusal of the whole tract, I cannot find in it the smallest foundation for the charge.

## NOTE (H), Page 196.

I may here collect a few miscellaneous notices respecting the history of Mary at this period.

1°. When the earl of Shrewsbury obtained leave to visit the court for the twofold purpose of vindicating his character from the aspersions of his wife and two sons, and of procuring his discharge from the ungracious office of guarding the Scottish queen, Mary was intrusted to the custody of sir Ralph Sadler. A little before, an event occurred, which gave her much uneasiness. Topcliffe, the noted persecutor of the catholics, had given out, that the captive queen had borne two children to her keeper, lord Shrewsbury. The countess, who had quarrelled with her husband, countenanced if she did not propagate, the slander; and it was repeated in foreign courts, as founded on her authority. Mary wrote in the strongest terms, vindicating herself, and requiring that the countess should be compelled to state her reasons for making the charge, or to acknowledge that it was false. (Jan. 2, 1584. Jebb, ii. 557.) Elizabeth appears to have granted the request; for there still remains in the Paper-office a declaration upon oath by the countess and her sons, that they consider the report scandalous, malicious, and false, and that they were neither the authors, nor propagators of it. (Chalmers, i. 374. note.)

2°. It was, I conceive, on this occasion, that Mary wrote the celebrated letter in Murdin, 558—560, in answer to one from Elizabeth, who had required from her a faithful account of whatever lady Shrewsbury had said in her hearing to the prejudice of Elizabeth's character. The Scottish queen complied; and related, without much ceremony, a number of facts, or pretended facts, which the countess in conversation had produced, as proofs of the vanity, the irascible temper, and the amours of the queen. For this letter she had been severely censured by some writers, who have attributed it to passion and revenge, while others have represented the charges contained in it as false and calumnious. To the first, it may be replied, that the letter was written

in obedience to the wish of Elizabeth; to the second, that, in almost every particular, it is confirmed by other authorities.

3°. Mary, in another letter, published in the life of lord Egerton, gives a most dismal description of her residence at Tutbury. The house, built of wood, and originally designed for a hunting-box, was in a most ruinous state. It was situated on a high hill, exposed to every wind, and surrounded by a lofty wall, which in a great measure excluded the sun. She had two small rooms, *petites chambrettes*, allotted for herself and her maids; the walls were pierced with fissures; the plaster in many places had separated from the timber; and though they intrenched themselves behind screens, curtains, and blankets, they were always ill with colds. She had no place where she could walk under cover in the house; and no room, to which she could retire, but two little closets, *petits trous*, about seven feet square, looking on the wall. The house was crowded with servants, guards, &c., without any convenience for so numerous a family; the privies under her window caused a most noisome smell, and were emptied every Saturday. In short, it was such a place, that no lord of the realm, not even one of those enemies of hers, who, less than lords, sought to make her less than themselves, that would not deem it a most tyrannical punishment, to be compelled to live in it one year in the manner they forced her to live there. Egerton, p. 6.

4°. In a letter to Elizabeth, having observed that the murder of the young man at Tutbury was owing to puritanical zeal, and that the same zeal combined with personal interest might also seek her death, she proceeds: "When I compare the advice which has been so often given to you to take my life, with the recent proceedings in parliament, which were checked only by you, and the object of the association, which is in truth a covert conspiracy to massacre me, and all of my religion, I beg of you, madam, with clasped hands, to free me from this long and miserable captivity. Name the conditions; I will submit to them, whatever they may be, provided my conscience be safe; if my past offers are not sufficient for your security, take from me all right to the

succession. I am content. I have no doubt of *your* sincerity and truth. Yet, when they have murdered me without your knowledge, who can repair the injury to me? You say they will not commit an action so unjust, so degrading to their characters. But who among them will believe, that he has acted unjustly or disgracefully, when he has only done that which he has sworn to do by the association? Parry's confession, though Parry, I am told, was formerly their spy, will to them be a sufficient justification. Consider to what this oligarchical conspiracy may ultimately lead. I have always condemned it, though I too have voluntarily bound myself to labour for your security, which is not less dear to me than to any of your subjects.—And here allow me to observe, that to persecute, as you do, the catholics for conscience sake, must be dangerous to yourself. When men are urged to despair, no one can calculate the consequences. You told my secretary that you never meant to persecute any man for his religion only; and in the first years of your reign, while you observed this maxim, you were never troubled with conspiracies against you. For God's sake, madam, keep this holy resolution, worthy of you, worthy of all of your rank. The present age has sufficiently proved, in every part of christendom, that human force cannot prevail against conscience. For my part, if my religion be that at which my enemies aim, I am ready by the grace of God to bow my neck under the axe, to shed my blood in the face of all Christian nations. I shall esteem it a happiness to be the first victim. This is not an empty boast: you know, that I am not out of danger."—Jebb, ii. 582.

NOTE (I), Page 226.

ANTY BABINGTONS LRE TO POOLEY BEFORE HIS APPRE-  
HENSION.

"Robyn, Sollicitæ non possunt curæ mutare rati sta-  
"mina fusi. I am ready to endure whatsoever shall be  
"inflicted. Et facere, et pati Romanum est. What  
"my course hath been towards Mr. Secretary, you can  
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"wyttnes, what my love towards you<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> self can best  
 "tell. Proceedings at my lodgings have been very  
 "strange. I am the same I allwayes pretended. I  
 "pray God yo<sup>w</sup> be, and ever so remayne towards me.  
 "Take hede to yo<sup>r</sup> own p<sup>te</sup> least of these my mysfor-  
 "tunes yo<sup>a</sup> beare the blame. Est exilium, inter malos  
 "vivere. Farewell, swete Robyn, if as I take the true  
 "to me. If not, Adieu, omnium bipedum iniquissimus.  
 "Retorne me thyne answere for my satisfaction and my  
 "dyamond and what else thou wilt. The furnace is  
 "prepared, wherein our faythe must be tryed. Fare-  
 "well till we mete w<sup>ch</sup> God knowes when.

"Thyne ho<sup>w</sup> farr tho<sup>a</sup> knowest,

"ANTHONY BABINGTON."

NOTE (J) Page 234.

I do not think that the charge against the Scottish queen carries with it any great appearance of improbability. It is very possible that a woman who had suffered an unjust imprisonment of twenty years, and was daily harassed with the fear of assassination, might conceive it lawful to preserve her own life and liberty by the death of her oppressor. "Car," says Chasteauneuf, in a letter of Aug. 26, "estant nee princesse souveraine, et detenue prisonniere par si long temps contre raison, elle ne peult estre blasmée (quand bien elle auroit faict tout ce dont on la veult charger), si elle a. cherché tous les moyens de se delivrer." Egerton, 232. But the real question is, not what she might have thought, but whether she actually gave her consent and approbation to the scheme of murder, submitted to her in the name of Babington.

Mary, as we have already seen, denied that "the poynts of the letters that concerned the practise against the Quene were by her written, or of her knolledg." (Page 227.) She also affirmed upon oath that she had never been party to any design against the life of Elizabeth: and the same affirmation she repeated in the course of her prayer on the scaffold.

To bring the charge home to her after her denial, it was necessary to show that the copy of her answers to

Babington produced in court, was a faithful representation of the real answer which she had commissioned Curle to put into cipher, and forward to the conspirator. Now, without disputing the fidelity of Curle, we know that that answer passed from Curle into the hands of Philipps at Chartley, and that it remained in the possession of Philipps and Walsingham, men actually engaged in a plot to bring Mary to the scaffold, not fewer than ten days, from the 18th to the 28th of July, before it was sent by them to Babington. Did it come out of their hands in the same state in which it came into them? Did they forward to him the original, as it was ciphered by Curle, or a transcript made by Philipps? Then what became of it afterwards? Of that we are also ignorant. It was never produced; but in its place was substituted at Fotheringay a deciphered copy. But if they had not the original, where did they procure the copy? By whom was it made? On this head again they were silent. To have given any explanation would have betrayed their secret, would have discovered, in the slang language of Philipps, "by what way the winu came in."

If the reader turn back to p. 223, he will see that the Scottish queen wrote with her own hand a minute of the answer to be returned to Babington, and that Nau formed that minute into a letter in the French language, which was translated into English by Curle, and was then forwarded to Babington. What had become of that minute and that French letter? Both Nau and Curle had been brought prisoners to Walsingham's house, where his agents were in constant communication with them, urging them to save their lives by spontaneous confessions. In the first of these confessions, dated on September 3, Nau appeals to the Scottish queen's minute and to his own letter, adding that the lords of the council had both in their possession. "*Ainsi qu'il apparait a vos Hon. ayant l'une et l'autre entre vos mains.*"—Nau Conf. Sept. 3. It is plain that, if this be true, the comparison of these two documents with the deciphered copy of the letter received by Babington would prove either that Mary was accessory to the intended assassination of Elizabeth, or that Walsingham and his secretaries had been guilty of a most atrocious forgery, by

introducing such approval into her answer. Had this fraud been committed or not? If it had, as Mary's advocates contend, there would have remained to Walsingham but one course, in order to escape detection, and that was, to destroy or to suppress the two documents which Nau had so confidently called for.

The manœuvres which now took place on the part of Walsingham and Philipps were so very extraordinary that it will be worth the reader's while to follow them, step by step, till we come to their conclusion at Fotheringay. It was on the 3d of September that Nau asserted the existence of the two documents. On the 4th Philipps wrote a long letter to lord Burghley, to show that no additional evidence was necessary; they had already abundant proof, from the intercepted letters of the Scottish queen, that both Nau and Curle had been guilty of high treason, because they had written, at her dictation, passages in those letters calculated to stir up rebellion within the realm, and to provoke invasion from the enemy without. These truths he specified in detail, but the lord treasurer required something more; and Philipps, on the same day, wrote to him a second and more important letter. In the first he had confined himself to the guilt of the two secretaries; in this he undertakes to connect Mary Stuart not only with the treasons mentioned before, but also with the murder of the queen's person. He reasons thus: "The minutes of the letters already mentioned are in their own hands, as themselves confess; *the like trust not unlike to be given for writing those to Babington.*" But this is a mere conjecture, which shows plainly that hitherto they possessed no positive proof that Mary had authorized the contents of the letter received as coming from her by Babington.—See the two letters of Philipps, in a very instructive note at the end of Mr. Tytler's vol. viii. no. xiv.

In the same letter Philipps alleges that "the heads of that bloody letter sent to Babington, touching the designment (murder) of the queen's person, is of Nau's hand likewise." But here there is much deception. They had discovered a minute written by Nau, containing, apparently, the heads of a letter, which they maintained to be the letter of Babington, though in reality it had no relation to that letter. It ran in these terms: *Secours de dehors—Forces dans le pays—Armée d'Espagne au retour des Indes—Armée de France au mesme*

temps, si la paix se faict—Guise, s'il ne passe tiendra la France occupee—De Flandres de mesme—Ecosse au mesme temps—Coup—Sortie. This minute seems to be a collection of subjects which the queen meant to discuss in a letter, or of points which she had selected for subsequent consideration. There is hardly one of them on which she does not give an opinion in one or other of her letters written at this time; and yet there is not a single letter in which the greater part of them is even mentioned. For that reason they cannot be the minute of the letter to Babington. Yet it was so contended by Walsingham and Philipps, and, in addition, that the word *coup* meant the murder of Elizabeth, though it might easily mean the simultaneous rising of Mary's friends, or the sudden attack upon Chartley. However, the interpretation put upon the minute by them was certainly admitted by lord Burghley, who on the same evening wrote to Hatton that a promise of mercy ought to be made to Nau and Curle, that they might "yeld in ther wrytyng sôewhat to confirm ther maistriss crymes; if they war pswaded that themselves might scape, and the blow (coup) fall upcn their M<sup>re</sup> betwixt hir head and hir shulders, surely we shuld have y<sup>e</sup> whole frô hyr."—From Mr. Leigh's papers. This allusion to the coup shows that he was acquainted with the minute, and at the same time aware that it could prove nothing against Mary Stuart; because, whatever might be its true meaning, it was not in her handwriting. Still, it retained the designation which had been given to it, and was exhibited at Fotheringay among the other supposed proofs of the Scottish queen's guilt.

The same evening, Walsingham wrote from his own house to Philipps, who was at Windsor, that the minute of the Scottish queen's answer "was not extant;" that Nau would confess nothing which could not be proved against him; and that his chief hope was in Curle, who, if still kept under his eye, might be induced, through hope of favour, to afford some useful testimony.—See his letter in Tytler's note xiv. at the end of vol. viii.

Nau, by his appeal, had disconcerted the astacious secretary. Walsingham might get rid of Mary's minute by denying its existence, and "wishing to God that it might be found;" but he could not deny the existence of Nau's letter, drawn from that minute; because it was only



through Nau's letter that he could make her responsible for the murderous passages existing in her answer to Babington. Of course, then, he will now bring forward Nau's letter. No; that does not suit his purpose. How, then, will he supply the chasm in the evidence which the absence of that letter must produce? By bringing forward what he will call a copy of that letter, agreeing in every particular with the answer received by Babington, and by claiming for such copy as much authority as if it were the original itself.

A copy so prepared was, on September 5, laid before Babington, in the Tower, who accordingly wrote under it, "C'est la copie des lettres de la Royne d'Escosse dernière-ment a moy envoyees. Anthopie Babington." The same copy was next laid before Curle, who subscribed in these words: "Telle ou semblable, me semble avoir esté la reponse escripte en francoys par monsieur Nau, laquelle j'ay traduict et mis en chiffre.—Gilbert Curle, 5 Sept., 1586." This subscription of Curle evidently regards the letter by Nau, but it is accompanied with a qualification, significative of distrust in the accuracy of the copy, as far as he dared, to signify such distrust: "Telle ou semblable me semble."

Sept. 6: After this testimony of Curle, Nau could not refuse to subscribe. He wrote: "Je pense de vray que c'est la lettre escripte par sa Majesté à Babington, comme il me souvient.—Nau, 6 Sept. 1586." Yet even now, it will be observed, he speaks with some hesitation. It is the copy, "as well as he can remember,"—Comme il me souvient, or comme il m'en peult souvenir, as it is entered on the record. But why, we may suppose him to have said, do you require me to speak from memory? You have the original of my letter, as well as the minute of the queen. Why do you not produce them? That he argued in such manner appears from this, that the next day (Sept 7) Philipps received from Wade the following peremptory order on the part of Elizabeth: "It is her majesty's pleasure you should presently repair hither; for that, upon Nau's confession, it should appear that *we* have not performed the search sufficiently. He doth assure we shall find among the minutes which were in Pasquier's chests the copies of the letters wanting, both in French and English."—Tytler, viii. note xiv. From

this it appears that the papers seized at Chartley had been taken to Windsor, and that Wade and Philipps had been already employed to search among them for the two documents to which Nau had so boldly appealed. That the search was renewed we cannot doubt, but, as they were never produced, we may take it for granted that the minute at least was not found.

Sept. 10. Nau presented a long memorial to the queen, in which he protested that the first information which Mary Stuart received of the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was from Babington's letter; that she determined to return no answer to that point; but, believing that if it should be attempted her own life would be taken in revenge, she resolved to accept the offer made by Babington to procure her escape from Chartley; and that the whole of her answer, which he acknowledged that he wrote from her dictation, was confined to the sole object of regaining her liberty. The only persons from whom she had heard of the conspiracy were Babington and Gilbert Gifford; but it was an enterprise with which she would have no concern.—*Lettres de Marie*, vii. 207—209. This memorial, so exculpatory of Mary, disappointed Burghley, who endorsed it thus: "Nau's long declaration "of things of no importance."

Sept. 20. On this day Babington was executed, and before his execution was prevailed upon to acknowledge as true, by his subscription, the copies of his letter to Mary Stuart, and of her answer to him, and to point out the alphabet of ciphers in which both were written. It was probably thought that his subscription at that moment would give additional credit to these copies. It was the attestation of a person at the point of death. In reality it proved merely that the copy of Mary's answer was a correct copy of the answer which he received, and that the copy of Nau's letter perfectly agreed with it; but it could not prove that the one was a correct copy of Mary's answer before it had been copied in Walsingham's office, or of Nau's letter before it had gone through the same process. Of all that Babington had no knowledge.

The reader is aware of the revolting cruelty with which he and his companions were treated at the gallows; and the next day (Sept. 21) the Scottish queen's secretaries, trembling lest they should meet with a similar fate, were

called before the chancellor, Burghley, and Hatton, commissioners appointed to interrogate them, preparatory to their trial. On the 23d these interrogations were resumed. They were compelled to depose upon oath that their former subscriptions were true. Certain passages from the alleged answer of Mary to Babington were laid before them in English, to be translated by them into French, for the sake of comparison; and each was called upon to write down such points as he could *remember* to have been written in her answer. All this is entered in the record of the trial in a very confused manner; but not a word appears to have been extracted from them to show that Mary had made any allusion to the murder of Elizabeth.

Here, however, it must be remarked, that there was much of deception in the manner in which the alterations and subscriptions were exhibited. By an ingenious contrivance, men not admitted into the secret were led to believe that the instrument to which the subscriptions were attached was a copy of the letter actually received by Babington. Burghley himself seems to have understood it so. In a letter to Walsingham, of the 8th of September, he says of Nau's subscription on the 6th, "Nau hath amply confessed, by his handwryting, to have wrytten, by the queen's endyting and her own minute, y<sup>e</sup> long ltre to "Babington." The same was the persuasion entertained at the trial at Fotheringay, and the same has been generally repeated by writers since that period. It was, indeed, indorsed by Philipps: "Queen of Scots to Anthony "Babington, 17 July, 1586," and subscribed by Babington: "C'est la copie des lettres de la Royne d'Escosse "dernièrement à moy envoyées. Anthonie Babington." But how could that be so? The letter which Babington had received was written in the English language;—this to which he subscribes is written in the French language. Why does he subscribe it in French, and not in English? Such questions might perhaps have been asked at Fotheringay; but we learn from the record that all the subscriptions to the copy produced there were written in English, and that Babington's had been translated for him thus: "This is the very trewe copie of ye queene's letter last sent "unto me, Ant<sup>r</sup>. Bab<sup>r</sup>." The fact, however, is, the instrument laid before them was not openly propounded as a copy of the letter actually received by Babington, but

as a copy of the French letter composed by Nau from the minute and the dictation of Mary Stuart;—the very letter, in fact, which Nau maintained that they possessed, and to which he appealed in defence of his own innocence and that of the Scottish queen, as far as concerned the project of assassination. This is evident from its being in the French language; from the testimony of Curle,—“*La response faicte à cette lettre (of Babington) estant escript premièrement en Francoys par Mr. Nau,*” Sept. 5; and again, in his examination of September 21: “The queen directed Nau to draw the answer to the same lre, y<sup>e</sup> which Nau drew in French, and y<sup>e</sup> doone y<sup>e</sup> Sco. Q. willd this examine to put it into English.”—(From the Record.)

Taking, therefore, this for granted, that the letter in French, to which the subscriptions were attached, was brought forward as a copy of Nau’s letter, it may be asked, what could have induced Walsingham to adopt this circuitous and deceptive method of stamping authority on a disputed copy, when he might at any moment have obtained his full purpose by the simple exhibition of the original? It seems to me that there is but one solution of the question. The original did not contain any allusion to the projected murder of Elizabeth; but the letter which he had forwarded to Babington was known to contain several such allusions. It therefore became necessary to suppress the original, and to exhibit a pretended copy, into which he might introduce all the murderous passages contained in the letter received by Babington.

3. The reader is aware (see p. 224) that Camden, having stated that a postscript inquiring the names of the six gentlemen appointed to assassinate the queen, had been appended to Mary’s letter in Walsingham’s office, adds his suspicion that some passages in the letter itself might also be fabricated at the same time,—*Si non et quaedam alia*. Of this there never appeared to be any reason to doubt. The man capable of forging the postscript was capable of introducing any falsifications which suited his purpose. Prince Labanoff is so convinced of the same that in his edition of Nau’s letter he has distinguished what he considers as the interpolated passages from the rest of the text, by printing them in Italics. Score out these passages, and the letter will be restored to that state in which, according

to Mary and Nau, it was originally written,—that is, it will be confined to the insurrection in England, and to her escape from prison. Thus it reads more naturally, and is free from the objections which otherwise force themselves on the mind of every attentive and cautious inquirer.

Philipps, indeed, was a most accomplished artist in his way; yet it is possible that in a very long letter he might not have been so constantly on his guard as to make all his interpolations perfectly harmonize with other and more distant parts of the same letter. Thus, in the following instance the hand of the interpolator seems to me to betray itself: “The affaires,” Mary is made to say, “being thus prepared, and forces in readines, without and within the realm, then shall it be time to sett the sixe gentilmen to work” (to assassinate the queen) “takinge order upon the accomplishinge of their desseigne” (the assassination), “I may be sodaynlye transported out of this place, and that all your forces at the same time be on the felde to meet me, in tarryinge for the arrival of the forayne aide, which then must be hastened with all diligence.” She then directs four stout horsemen to be kept at court, to advertise her of the accomplishment of the design (assassination), that she may escape before her keepers have time to fortify the house. This, she adds, is the best plot that she can devise; “for sturring on this side, before you be assured of sufficient forraine forces, it weare but for nothings to put yourselves in danger; . . . . and to take me forth of this place, unbeing before well assured to sett me in the midst of a good armie, or in some very good strengthe, . . . . it were sufficient excuse given to that queene, in catching me againe, to enclose me in some hold, out of which I should never escape, if she did use me no worse.” But how could Elizabeth catch her again, if Elizabeth were already put to death? It was natural enough that Mary should fear a second and more rigorous imprisonment if she were again to fall into the hands of the queen, and should therefore forbid any attempt to liberate her, without a sufficient force for her protection; but that she should entertain any fear of falling into the hands of Elizabeth, when she had directed that the attempt to liberate her should depend on the accomplishment of the de-

sign of the six gentlemen (that is, on the previous murder of Elizabeth), it is impossible to conceive. The reason which she assigns for her previous direction is to me a proof that no mention of assassination had been contained in the original letter.

Walsingham appears to have been aware of this contradiction before the trial at Fotheringay; for serjeant Puckering received instructions in his brief to contend that in this passage Mary meant to forbid any attempt for her deliverance "before eyther they had a stronge armie in readyness to place her in, or they had dispatched her ma<sup>tie</sup>, and then (said she) if that queene take me agayne, "I shall be forever inclosed in a hole, if she use me no worse."—Mr. Leigh's Papers. In the text itself I see not this alternative. The murder of the queen is there required to precede the liberation of the captive.

4. At Fotheringay Mary had called for her two secretaries to be confronted with her. This was refused. At Westminster they were brought forward; but then she was absent at Fotheringay. Little reliance can be placed on confessions drawn from prisoners through the fear of the rack and the scaffold; we have, however, the benefit of the testimony both of Nau and Curle, on other less trying occasions. At Westminster Nau openly declared, before the commissioners, that the chief points of the charge, those on which alone any pretext for condemnation could be based, were false, calumnious, and fabricated. "He did then deny and maintain de faulx les principaux chefs de l'accusation mise en avaint contre sa matie, et pour lesquels seuls on pouvoit prendre couleur ou pretexte de la condamner . . . accusation faulse, calomnieuse et supposée." He wrote this, indeed, as late as March 5, 1605, but appealed for the truth of it to the recollection of the noblemen and gentlemen who had been present on the occasion, and were still alive;—adding that if this, his last and public declaration, had been contrary to his former declarations in private, before the commissioners, "led. sr. de Walsingham n'eust point failly à me le reviler sur la face, pour me convaincre de mensonge, et moy mesmes je n'eusse jamais en l'assurance derant ceulx mesmes qui m'avoient interrogé, de me desmentir et tenir un langage toute contraire." It was a misfortune that he spoke

in French, which, it appears, was less generally understood than Italian, for one of the lords desired him to speak in that language.—Harl. MS. 46. 49. 82.

The other statement on the part of Curle is the last confession which he subscribed on the 6th of Aug., 1587, preparatory to his discharge from Walsingham's house, after a year's confinement; and of which we may presume that it contains as much as could be extorted from him in favour of the prosecution. In it he says: "moreover were shewed  
"me the two very letters writin by me in cipher, and  
"receive(d by) Babington, and the trew desciffrements  
"of both word by word with the two alphabet between  
"her maty and him, the counter alphabets whereof were  
"found amongst her papers. The copy of the first of  
"the said letters writtin with my own hand which I  
"could not avoid to acknowledge as I did, and a trew  
"copy of Babington's principal letters to her maty, the  
"whole acknowledged by his confession under his own  
"hand; also afterwards the postscript of the said letters  
"of Babington to Mr. Nau to ask his opinion of one  
"Mr. Powley, the said postscriptum acknowledged by  
"Mr. Nau, and that I had answered the same in her  
"name, which answer, containing only in effect, that  
"Babington should not trust Powles, was found writtin  
"with my hand among the rest of the papers, and  
"sundry letters to and fro between the conveyers of the  
"pacquets, and one whereby appeared the receipt of the  
"Babington letters, and the conveyance of the answer  
"thereof."—It may here be observed, that in this long  
enumeration, the only letters to Babington which he  
admits as having been exhibited to him are the notes of  
the 15th of June, and the 12th of July, not the im-  
portant answer of the 17th. He then proceeds:—  
"Upon which so manifest and unrecusable evidence I  
"could not deny in any sorte; but it behoved me at  
"length for most important respects to confesse, as I  
"did, that I had disciphered Babington's principal  
"letters to her maty, and that I received from Mr. Nau  
"by her commandment her answer thereunto, after she  
"had read and perused the same in my presence, which  
"answer I translated into English, and after the  
"perusing thereof by her maty put it in cifice, ere it was

"sent to Babington. In witnesse whereof I have subscribed these presents with my hand at London the vi of August, 1587.

"CURLL." (with a paraphe.)

A cursory perusal of this instrument might lead the reader to take it for an admission by Curle of the matter in dispute: but a closer inspection will convince him that it has no reference to the subject. Curle acknowledges, indeed, that Mary answered the letter of Babington, and that he translated and put her answer into cipher: but whether that answer was or was not fairly represented by the deciphered copy produced at Fotheringay, is a question into which he does not enter, and into which, probably, he could not enter, for the fair inference from this and his former confessions is, that he was never allowed to see that deciphered copy\*.

Before I conclude this note I must acknowledge my obligations for much of the new matter contained in it to the invaluable collection of queen Mary's letters, by prince A. Labanoff, vols. vi. vii., and to the discovery of several original letters among the papers in the State Paper office, by Mr. Tytler. See his vol. viii. passim.

#### NOTE (K), Page 244.

The following is a serious instance of the queen's positiveness, and utter contempt of the maxims and forms ordinarily observed in courts of justice. The earl of Shrewsbury had been excused from attending, on account of indisposition. Still, though he was personally ignorant of the proceedings, it was resolved that he should lend the sanction of his name to the judgment. With this view lord Burghley visited him at Stilton, and gave him an account of the trial which had taken place at Fotheringay. On Oct. 22 the lord chancellor wrote to the earl, by order of the queen, "to come to Westminster, if possibly he could, for the finishing of the commission on the 25th." This letter was accompanied by another, from Burghley, informing him of the queen's great desire that he should concur

\* A copy of this confession of Curle, but strangely metamorphosed, and dated the 7th of August, is in Mr. Von Raumer's vol. iii. p. 327. The above was copied for me by Mr. Holmes from the original (Cot. MS. Cal. 1.), compared with the Harl. MS. 4647, which has supplied a few words in places where the original had been damaged by fire.



with the other commissioners in the judgment. If he could not come, "then," says he, "I pray y<sup>r</sup>. lordship to write to me that when, upon conference with me, we both thought the Scottish queen had not cleared herself by her answers" (how guardedly this is expressed!) "for the matter wherewith she was charged, for compassing and imagining the Q. Maties death, that your lordship would, if you were present, deliver y<sup>r</sup>. sentence soe to be, and therefore in y<sup>r</sup>. absence, coming by infirmities, you both require and authorize me to deliver y<sup>r</sup>. opinion soe to be."

On the 26th he writes again. "Yesterday in the Starre chamber, when all the commissioners, among which number there wanted only y<sup>r</sup>. lordship and my lord of Warwick, both upon cause, were assembled, and had pronounced their sentence, all in one manner, to charge the queene of Scots with privity of the conspiracy, and with the compassing and imagining also of divers things tending to the hurt and destruction of her maties. person, mylord chancellour and I did declare, by reading of y<sup>r</sup>. lordship's letter, y<sup>r</sup>. sentence conform to the general sentence of all the rest; and there it was ordered that on Monday next (the 31st) the process with the sentence should be put in writing in the form of a record, to the which it is meant that we shall all put our seals."

On the following day, the 27th, he writes a third time. He had learned from the judges that the former letter of the earl did not give to Burghley a legal right to act for him. He therefore says: "I do now send y<sup>r</sup>. lordship the true copy of y<sup>r</sup>. former letter with an interlineation of some things to be altered in form: and I have also sent to y<sup>r</sup>. lordship in a paper apart such words as are to be inserted in a new letter in place of those that are underlined; and so I remit to y<sup>r</sup>. lordship's consideration to cause y<sup>r</sup>. letter to be writ to mylord chancellor and to me as y<sup>r</sup>. former was, and of the same date, with the changing only of so much as I have underlined, and in place thereof to write the other sentences contained in the other paper here enclosed."

On the 28th the earl wrote an answer, published by Lodge, ii. 333, giving to them authority to subscribe his name, and sending his seal "for the ensealing thereof."

After all, this vicarious subscription was thought insufficient. For on Nov. 30 lord Burghley writes: "The sentence was subscribed yesterday by all the commissioners that were here at parliament, and I have answered for y<sup>r</sup> lordship that you will not fail to sign at any time, and so left a space for your name."—From papers in possession of the earl of Shrewsbury.

NOTE (L), Page 297.

In the present note I purpose to give some account of this tract, which every writer on the armada is careful to mention, though few of them ever had it in their hands. It was printed at Antwerp, to be distributed in England at the moment of the invasion: but the invasion did not take place, and care was taken to burn almost all the copies. Hence the book is become extremely scarce. The title is, an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present warres made for the execution of his holines sentence, by the highe and mightie kinge catholicke of Spaine, by the cardinal of Englande. Anno MDLXXXVIII." It begins thus: "*Gulielmus miseratione divina S. R. E. tituli Sancti Martini in Montibus Cardinalis Presbyter, de Anglia nuncupatus, cunctis regnorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ proceribus, populis, et personis, omnibusque Christi fidelibus salutem in Domino sempiternam.*" After a short preface, it undertakes to show, 1°. Of whom and in what manner Elizabeth is descended; 2°. How intruded into the royal dignity; 3°. How she has behaved at home and abroad; 4°. By what laws of God and man her punishment is pursued; 5°. How just, honest, and necessary causes all true Englishmen have to embrace and set forward the same.

"1°. She is a bastard, the daughter of Henry VIII., by his incestuous commerce with Anne Boleyn.

"2°. She was intruded by force, unjustly deposing the lords of the clergy, without whom no lawful parliament could be held, nor statute made; and without any approbation of the see of Rome, contrary to the accord made by king John, at the special request and procure-

ment of the lords and commons, as a thing necessary to preserve the realm from the unjust usurpation of tyrants.

“ 3°. As to her behaviour, she has professed herself a heretic. She usurpeth, by Luciferian pride, the title of supreme ecclesiastical government, a thing in a woman unheard of, not tolerable to the masters of her own sect, and to all catholics in the world most ridiculous, absurd, monstrous, detestable, and a very fable to the posterity.

“ She is taken and known for an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin, of an infamous courtezan, Anne Boleyn, afterwards executed for advoutery, treason, heresy, and incest, among others with her own natural brother, which Anne Boleyn her father kept by pretended marriage in the life of his lawful wife, as he did before unnaturally know and kepe both the said Anne’s mother and sister.

“ She is guilty of perjury in violating her coronation oath.

“ She hath abolished the catholic religion—profaned the sacraments—forbidden preaching—impiously spoiled the churches, deposed and imprisoned the bishops, and suppressed the monasteries.

“ She hath destroyed most of the ancient nobility, putting into their houses and chambers traitors, spials, delators, and promoters, that take watch for her of all their ways, words, and writings.

“ She hath raised a new nobility of men base and impure, inflamed with infinite avarice and ambition.

“ She hath intruded a new clergy of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men.

“ She hath made the country a place of refuge for atheists, anabaptists, heretics, and rebels of all nations.

“ She hath polled the people, not only by more frequent and large subsidies than any other princes, but by sundry shameful guiles of lotteries, laws, decrets, falls of money, and such like deceits.

“ She sells laws, licences, dispensations, pardons, &c. for money and bribes, with which she enriches her poor cousins and favourites. Among the latter is Leicester, when she took up first to serve her filthy lust ; whereof to have more freedom and interest, he caused his own

wife to be murdered, as afterwarde, for the accomplishment of his like brutish pleasures with another noble dame, it is openly known he made away with her husband. This man over-ruleth the chamber, court, council, parliament, ports, forts, seas, ships, tenders, men, munition, and all the country.

“With the aforesaid person, and with divers others, she hath abused her bodie against God’s lawes, to the disgrace of princely majestie, and the whole nation’s reproache, by unspeakable and incredible variety of luste, which modesty suffereth not to be remembered, neyther were it to chaste eares to be uttered how shamfully she hath defiled and infamed her person and cuntry, and made her court as a trappe, by this damnable and detestable art to intangle in sinne, and overthrowe the younger sorte of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the lande; wherebye she is become notorious to the worlde, and in other cuntries a common fable for this her turpitude, which in so highe degre, namely in a woman and a queene, deservethe not onlie deposition, but all vengeance, both of God and man, and cannot be tolerated without eternal infamie of our whole countrie, the whole worlde deriding our effeminate dastardie, that have suffered such a creature almost thirty years together to raigne both over our bodies and soules, and to have the chief regiment of al our affaires, as wel spirituall as temporal, to the extinguishinge not onely of religion, but of all chaste livinge and honesty.

“She does not marry, because she cannot confine herself to one man; and to the condemnation of chaste and lawful marriage she forced the very parliament to give consent to a law, that none should be named for her successor, savinge the natural, that is to saie, bastard-borne child of her owne bodie. (Here is an allusion ‘to her unlawfull, longe concealed, or *fained* issue).’

“She confederates with rebels of all nations, and is known to be the first and principal fountain of all those furious rebellions in Scotland, France, and Flandres; sending abroad by her ministers, as is proved by intercepted letters and confessions, numbers of intelligencers, spies, and practisers, in most princes’ courts, not only to give notice of news, but to deal with the discontented,

and hath sought to destroy the persons of the pope's holiness and the king of Spain.

"She is excessively proud, obstinate, and impenitent, though she has been excommunicated eighteen years.

"She hath murdered bishops, and priests, and the queen of Scots.

"4°. Having noticed several instances of the depositions of kings in the Old Testament, and the excommunication of emperors by different popes, it observes that the sentence given by Pius V. hath not been pursued, partly on account of his death, and partly on account of her great power. But her perseverance in sin, her persecution of the catholics, and her aiding of rebels, have induced Sixtus V. to intreat Philip of Spain, to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise, to which he hath consented, moved by his own zeal, by the authority of his holiness, and by the cardinal's humble and continual sute for the delivery of his countrymen."

The fifth part I need not analyze. Its contents are more generally known, and may be found in Fuller, l. ix. p. 196, and in Mr. Butler's *Memoirs*, iii. 213. At the end is given the date: "From my lodginge in the palace of St. Peter in Rome, this 28th of Aprill, 1588. The "Cardinall\*."

The author of this most offensive publication seems to have studied the works, and to have acquired the style, of the exiles who, formerly, at Geneva, published libels against queen Mary, the predecessor of Elizabeth. Who that author was, soon became a subject of discussion. The language and the manner are certainly not like those of Allen in his acknowledged works; and the appellant priests boldly asserted that the book was "penned altogether by the advice of F. Persons." Persons himself, in his answer, though he twice notices the charge, seems by his evasions to acknowledge its truth. (*Manifestation*, 35. 47.) But whoever were the real

\* The substance of "the admonition" was compressed into a smaller compass, under the title of "a declaration of the sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Queene of England," and was printed separately for distribution on a broadside in 81 lines. But the copies of this were also destroyed on the failure of the armada: one copy, perhaps the only one now in existence, was lately in the possession of Mr. H. G. Bohn, York-street, Covent-garden.

author, the cardinal, by subscribing his name, adopted the tract for his own, and thus became answerable for its contents.

It is, however, but justice to add, that we have in Strype (iv. 144) a letter from him, preserved by Cecil, in a very different style. It arose out of a communication from Hopkins, an English agent, that the queen was desirous of peace, and not unwilling to grant some sort of toleration. The cardinal expresses his joy at the news: it is what he has been known to wish for of old; and what he will endeavour to promote to the best of his power. If the queen will only consent to grant toleration, and to restore the Spanish places now in her possession, he will answer that no demand shall be made for reparation of other injuries, &c. and that peace may thus be restored to the Christian world, "whereof," he adds, "if I might by any office of my life or death be a promoter or procurer, I would reckon the remanent of my few years yet to come, more fortunate than the many evil and long years of my life past," &c. *Ibid.* 146. Part of it is in the *Biographia Britannica*, Art. Allen.

NOTE (M), Page 312.

I shall here add a few particulars respecting this noble person.—His speech to the lieutenant of the Tower, who visited him a few days before his death, is worthy of him. On the appearance of that officer he addressed him thus: "Mr. Lieutenant, you have shew'd both to me and my men very hard measure." "Wherein, my lord?" quoth he. "Nay," said the earl, "I will not make a recapitulation of any thing, for it is all freely forgiven. Only I am to say unto you a few words of my last will, which being observed, may, by the grace of God, turn much to your benefit and reputation. I speak not for myself, for God of his goodness has taken order that I shall be delivered very shortly out of your charge; only for others I speak, who may be committed to this place. You must think, Mr. Lieutenant, that when a prisoner comes hither to this Tower, that he bringeth sorrow with him. Oh,

" then, do not add affliction to affliction: there is no  
 " man whatsoever that thinketh himself to stand surest,  
 " but may fall. It is a very inhuman part to tread on  
 " him, whom misfortune hath cast down. The man that  
 " is void of mercy God hath in great detestation. Your  
 " commission is only to keep with safety, not to kill  
 " with severity. Remember, good Mr. Lieutenant, that  
 " God, who with his finger turneth the unstable wheel  
 " of this variable world, can in the revolution of a few  
 " days bring you to be a prisoner also, and to be kept in  
 " the same place, where you now keep others. There  
 " is no calamity that men are subject unto, but you may  
 " also taste as well as any other man. Farewell, Mr.  
 " Lieutenant: for the time of my smal abode here come  
 " to me whenever you please, and you shall be heartily  
 " wellcome as my friend." MS. life of Philippe Howarde  
 " His interment in the Tower was conducted with a due  
 regard to economy. His coffin cost the queen 10s. the  
 black cloth which covered it 30s. As he was a catholic,  
 the chaplain deemed it a profanation to read the esta-  
 blished service over the grave: and therefore began  
 thus: " Wee are not come to honour this man's religion;  
 " we publickely professe, and here openlie proteste,  
 " otherwyse to be saved; nor to honour his offence, the  
 " lawe hath judged him, wee leave him to the Lord. He  
 " is gone to his place. Thus we find it true, that is sette  
 " downe in our owne booke, ' Man that is born of a  
 " woman,' &c. Thus God hath laid this man's honour  
 " in the dust. Yet as it is said in the scriptures, ' Go,  
 " ' and bury yonder woman, for she is a king's daughter,'  
 " so we commit his bodie to the earth, yet giving God  
 " hearty thanks that hath delyvered us of so greate a  
 " feare. And thus let us praise God with the song of  
 " Deborah." This was followed by the forty-ninth  
 Psalm, and the service was concluded with a prayer  
 composed for the occasion. " Oh! Almighty God! who  
 " art the judge of all the world, the lord of lyfe and  
 " death, who alone hast the keys of the grave, who  
 " shuttest and no man openeth it, who openest and no  
 " man can shut, wee give thee hearty thanks, for that  
 " it hath pleased thee in thy mercy to us, to take this  
 " man out of this world; wee leave him to thy majesty,

"knowing by the worde, that hee and all other shall  
 "reysse again to give an account of all that has been done  
 "in the fleshe, be it good or evyll, against God or man."  
 Dallaway's Western Sussex, ii. 145, MSS. Lansdowne,  
 vol. 79, No. 34.

## NOTE (N), Page 315.

That the reader may form a notion of the manner in which the catholic gentlemen were treated during this reign, I have collected the following brief account of the fines paid, and the privations suffered by one of the first recusants convict, Edward Sulyard, esq. of Wetherden, in the county of Suffolk, from papers furnished by his descendant, the late lady Stafford.

In 1586, the queen finding that many of the recusants were unable to pay the full amount of the fines, to which they were liable by statute, consented to grant them some indulgence, on condition that they should pay an annual composition. By Mr. Sulyard, 40*l.* per annum was offered. I know not what sum was accepted: but he received permission to remain at his own house, under a protection from secretary Walsingham, forbidding him to be molested, "he having bene a long tyme restrayned of his libertie for matter of religion."

It appears that the fines due from him to the queen, "eo quod ipse non adivit, Anglice, did not repair, ad aliquam ecclesiam, capellam sive locum usualem communis precationis per spatium 69 mensium," amounted to 1,380*l.* of which he had paid only 540*l.* For the payment of the remaining 840*l.* within the space of three years, he found two sureties, Thomas Tyrrel and Edward Sulyard of Fenning, esqrs.

On the approach of the armada he was thrown into prison, together with other recusants; but having, in November 1588, subscribed a declaration, that the queen was his lawful sovereign notwithstanding any excommunication whatsoever, and that he would be always ready to defend her with his life and goods against the force of any prince, pope, potentate, prelate, or whatsoever other her enemy, he obtained leave to go to his estate, for the purpose of raising money, but on condi-



tion that he should repair to London against the 10th of March, and be confined in a private house. He obeyed, and was bound in a penalty of 2000*l.* not to depart out of the house, or the appurtenances thereof.

In October 1591 he obtained the liberty of walking out, having first bound himself under the same penalty, 1<sup>o</sup>. not to go beyond the sea, or more than six miles from the place of his confinement; and, 2<sup>o</sup>. to present himself before the council, within ten days, whenever notice should be left for that purpose at the house aforesaid, "until he should have conformed and yielded himself unto the order for religion, and for coming and resorting to divine service established by act of parliament."

In 1594, on a rumour of invasion, he was confined with other recusants in the castle of Ely. In autumn leave was given him to go to his own house for fourteen days; and afterwards to choose the house of some friend, where he might be confined under the usual restrictions and penalties.

In 1595 he procured the indulgence of having his own house for his prison: and in 1598 was permitted to leave it for the space of six weeks.

In 1599, on another rumour of invasion, he was again confined in the castle of Ely: but, as soon as the danger was over, he returned to his own house, having first paid the expenses of his imprisonment in Ely. The next year he obtained another leave of absence for six weeks.

During this time, besides the composition to the queen, he was occasionally compelled by privy seals to lend money which was never repaid; occasionally to find a trooper fully equipped for the queen's service; and often to appear in person before the council or the archbishop.

To Mr. Sulyard I may add, as another instance, Mr. Towneley of Towneley, in Lancashire. The following inscription was placed by his order under his picture, which is still preserved in the portrait gallery at Towneley. "This John about the sixth or seventh year of her Majesty's reign that now is for professing the Apostolick Roman Catholick faith was imprisoned first at Chester castle; then sent to the Marshalsea; then to York castle; then to the Blockhouses in Hull; then

“to the Gatehouse in Westminster; then to Manchester; then to Broughton in Oxfordshire; then twice to Ely in Cambridgeshire; and so now seventy-three years old, and blind, is bound to appear and keep within five miles of Towneley his house. Who hath, since the statute of the twenty-third, paid into the Exchequer twenty pounds a month, and doth still, so that there is paid already above five thousand pounds. An. Dni. One thousand six hundred and one. John Towneley of Towneley in Lancashire.”

Such was the harassing and degrading life which every gentleman, known to be a catholic, was compelled to lead, for the sole offence of *not conforming* to a worship which was contrary to his conscience: but, if in addition he presumed to practise his own religion, if he heard mass, or received a priest into his house, he was subject to more rigorous fines, to forfeiture, to imprisonment for life, or to death, as a felon without benefit of clergy, according to the nature of the offence, and the statute under which he might be indicted.

NOTE (O), Page 317.

On the 18th of October, 1591, the queen issued a proclamation, distinguished by the violence of its language, against the king of Spain, the pope, and the missionaries, ordering all householders to make returns of every person who had resorted to their houses during the last twelve months, and to specify whether they knew any one who was accustomed to absent himself from the established service. To the proclamation were appended instructions for certain commissioners, appointed in each county, to receive these returns, and to discover, by all the means in their power, missionaries, or persons withdrawn from their allegiance by the arts of the missionaries.

There was much to reprehend in the scurrilous language of this instrument; and several passages in it appeared to call for an answer from the leaders of the Spanish party among the exiles. Two were soon published: one by Persons under the title of *Responsio ad edictum*, for an accurate account of which I shall refer

the reader to Mr. Butler's *Memoirs*, iii. 236 : and another by F. Cresswell, intituled *Exemplar literarum misarum à Germania ad D. Gulielmum Cecilium, consiliarium regium*. Impressum Anno Domini MDXCIIJ.

In this tract the writer describes the persecution which the English catholics suffered ; and asserts that the author of the proclamation, in order to justify such barbarities, had recourse to calumny like the pagans of old. He enumerates the offences of Elizabeth ; her ingratitude to the king of Spain, to whom she was formerly indebted for her life ; the murder of the queen of Scots ; her connexions with the rebels of other monarchs, and her friendship with the Turk. To her character he opposes, in praise of Philip, his royal virtues, the use he makes of his power, his affection for the English exiles, and his labours to preserve the catholic religion in England by the foundation of seminaries. The author next maintains the right of the pope to employ the arms of catholic princes, and to depose apostate sovereigns, for the benefit of religion ; and contends that, if he appointed Allen his legate, and ordered certain priests to attend the invading army under the duke of Parma, it was not to promote the destruction but the salvation of the country, to diminish the horrors of war, and to protect Englishmen from the swords of the invaders. He boasts of the superior force of the Spanish king, and maintains that in the time of danger Elizabeth and her ministers will find that she possesses not the affection of the nation, and that her own soldiers will turn their arms against her.

It is difficult to speak of these tracts with the severity which they deserve. They might please the king of Spain, and might uphold his hope of effecting the conquest of England ; but they were calculated to irritate Elizabeth, to throw suspicion on the loyalty of the catholics, and to increase the pressure of persecution. The real motive of the authors may perhaps be discovered from the conclusion of each tract. They seem to have believed that the queen was alarmed, and they hoped, by adding to that alarm, to extort her assent to the following proposals : that she should make peace with Philip, should tolerate the exercise of the catholic worship, and

should allow all men, without distinction of religion, to partake of the favours and protection of government. See Responsio, p. 247. Exemplar literarum, 179.

NOTE (P), Page 335.

I have seen many of these prints, and among them one calculated to excite feelings of the strongest abhorrence. It represents the execution of Margaret Middleton, the wife of Clitheroe, a rich citizen of York, who, for standing mute, suffered the peine forte et dure. She had harboured a priest in quality of a schoolmaster: and at the bar refused to plead guilty, because she knew that no sufficient proof could be brought against her, or not guilty, because she deemed such a plea equivalent to a falsehood.

As this barbarous mode of punishment is now grown obsolete, I shall describe her death in the words of one who was present in York at the time.

"The place of execution was the tolboth, six or seven yards from the prison. After she had prayed, Fawcet (one of the sheriffs) commanded them to put off her apparel; when she, with the four women, requested him, on their knees, that, for the honour of womanhood, this might be dispensed with. But they would not grant it. Then she requested them that the women might unapparel her, and that they would turne their faces from her during that time.

"The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long linen habit. Then very quietly she laied her down upon the ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, and most part of her body with the habit. The dore was laied upon her: her hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff saied, 'Naie, ye must have your hands bound.' Then two serjeants parted her hands, and bound them to two posts. (In the print her feet are bound to two others.) After this they laied weight upon her, which, when she first felt, she said, 'Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, have mercye upon mee;' which were the last words she was heard to speake. She was in dying about one quarter of an hower. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, had been put

“under her back; upon her was laied to the quantitie  
“of seven or eight hundred weight, which, breaking her  
“ribbs, caused them to burst forth of the skinne.” March  
25, 1586.

NOTE (Q), Page 360.

If Titus Oates had never existed, the history of this ridiculous plot would suffice to show how easily the most absurd fictions obtain credit, when the public mind is under the influence of religious prejudice. The poison, it was said, was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the pommel of the saddle. The queen would undoubtedly touch it with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose. In either case death must ensue, as the poison was of so subtle and penetrating a nature that it would instantly reach either her lungs or stomach.

To the account published by the government, Walpole himself opposed another in a pamphlet entitled, “The  
“discoverie and confutation of a tragical fiction devysed  
“and played by Ed. Squyer, yeoman, soldiari, hanged at  
“Tyburne the 23rd of Nov. 1598.—Written for the only  
“love and zeal of truth against forgerie, by M. A.  
“priest, that knew and dealt with Squyer in Spaine  
“MDXCIX.”

Both agree that Squires was a soldier under Drake, taken prisoner in the West Indies, and carried to Seville in Spain. There, by the government account, Walpole caused him to be put into the inquisition, then prevailed on him to become a catholic, and, having sworn him to kill the queen, procured him and one Rolles to be exchanged for two Spanish prisoners from England. The poison of course failed; but how came the attempt to be discovered? This is the most clumsy part of the story. Walpole, finding that the queen was still alive, through revenge for the supposed infidelity of Squires, sent Stanley from Spain to reveal his guilt to the council! “Be-  
“cause nothing succeeded of it, the priest, thinking he  
“had either changed his purpose or betrayed it, gave  
“Stanley instructions to accuse him; thereby to get

"him more credit, and to be revenged of Squire for breaking promise. The fellow confessed the whole practise, and, as it seemed, died very penitent." Chamberlain (3 Oct. 1598) in Bacon's Works, vol. vi. pp. 41, 42, note, edition of 1803.

According to Walpole, Squires, for his misconduct at Seville, was condemned to two years' imprisonment in a convent of Carmelite friars: there, hoping to shorten the term of his punishment, he sent for Walpole, and pretended to become a catholic; but finding this expedient of no avail, he broke out of his prison, reached St. Lucar, and got on board of a ship about to sail for England. Walpole solemnly asserts that he never gave him any poison, nor ever spoke to him about the murder of the queen. He always suspected his sincerity, and on that account refused to give him a letter of recommendation to any English catholic. Indeed, so little was Walpole known either to Squires, or to Stanley, the pretended messenger, that neither of them could inform the council of his Christian name. They were compelled to guess at it, and in the indictment and pleadings called him William instead of Richard. "This world" he concludes, "is now grown over well acquainted with the tales of queen-killing, as also that these brutes are inductions to the killing of such innocent servants of God, as light into the hands and power of the bloodthirsty." P. 14. Dated Rome, 1st March, 1599.

NOTE (R), Page 385.

I add the following graphic description of the surrender of Essex house, from a paper in the hand-writing of Frances Bouchier, probably daughter of William earl of Bath. The original is in the possession of sir Bouchier Wrey.

"About 6 of the cloke, the lo. admirall sent sir Robert Sidney to somone the earles, and those that weare with them, to yield themselves, and, after the drume had somoned a parley, the earl of Southampton came upon the leads, and asked sr Robert Sidney, calling him cossen Sidney, 'What would

“‘you have?’ Who answered that he somoned them  
 “‘for my lo. admirall, her maties. lieuftent generall  
 “‘to yeeld themselves. Southamton replied, ‘Dear  
 “‘cossen, to whom would you have us yeeld? To our  
 “‘enemies? That weare to thrust o’selves into perill  
 “‘willingly.’ ‘No,’ said Sidney, ‘but you must yeeld  
 “‘y’selves to her matie.’ ‘That would we willingly,’  
 “‘answered Southamton, ‘but that therby we should  
 “‘confess ourselves guilty before we have offended.  
 “‘yet, if my lo. admirall will yeeld honorable hos-  
 “‘tages for our safe retorne to this place, we will goe  
 “‘and present ourselves before her matie. to whom (God  
 “‘knoweth) we never intended the leaste hurte; whose  
 “‘royall disposition we know to be such that, if we  
 “‘might but freely declare our mindes, she would par-  
 “‘don us, and blame those that are blameworthy, those  
 “‘atheists and caterpillers I mean, who laid plots to  
 “‘bereave us of our lives, for safgard whereof we have,  
 “‘as the law of nature requiers us, taken up the so-  
 “‘daine armes, though we do and will acknowledge all  
 “‘dutie and obeydience to her matie. to our lives end.’  
 “‘*Sidenay.* ‘My lord, you must not capitulate with the  
 “‘prince. I know my lo. admiral will not yeeld to  
 “‘any such conditions of hostages.’

“‘*Southamton.* ‘Good cossen, I do not capitulate with  
 “‘my prince. I do but a littell expostulate with you.  
 “‘You are a man of arms, and know well what be-  
 “‘loungs therto. You know by nature wee ar bound  
 “‘to defend ourselves against our equals, much mor  
 “‘against our inferiores: and, cossen, you cannot but  
 “‘know, or at leastwise conjecture that, if we should  
 “‘yeeld, we should willingly put ourselves into our eni-  
 “‘mies daunger, into the wolves mouth, into ther hands  
 “‘that would keep us far enough from coming to her  
 “‘matie. to speak for ourselves: or, if we wear per-  
 “‘mitted, yet coming before her as captives, the lies of  
 “‘our enemies would overbalance our truthe. Then,  
 “‘good cossen, what would you do, if you wear in our  
 “‘cases?’

“‘*Sidney.* ‘Good my lord, put no such questions. I  
 “‘ould you wear best to yeeld: for this house, you  
 “‘know, is of no such force as it can long preserve you

“and my lord admiral hath already sent for powder  
 “and shott for battrie; and, if that prevayles not,  
 “he meanes to blow it up, and then ther is no way  
 “but one.”

“*Southampton.* ‘Let his lordship do his pleasure: if  
 “he blow us up we shall be the nearer heaven. We  
 “purpose not to yeeld without hostages, for we have  
 “made choise rather to die like men with our swordes  
 “in our hands, than some 9 or 10 days hence to end  
 “our lives on a scaffold.’

“Then came the earl of Essex to Southampton, and  
 “said to sir Robert Sidney; ‘Good brother Sidney,  
 “and you my loving countrymen (meaning the sol-  
 “diours,) nothing doth so much greeve me as that you,  
 “who, my conscience telleth me, love me, and for  
 “whose safety I have so often oposed myself to perill,  
 “that you I say, my friends, whose least droppe of blod  
 “would exceedingly greeve me, should now be made  
 “agents against me, who would rather flinge myself  
 “headlounge from hence than that the meanest of  
 “you should be indangered: and those atheistes,  
 “mine enimies, keep aloof off from perill, and dare not  
 “once approche me: in fighting against whom if I  
 “might end my life, I would think my death most  
 “honourable, if by my death I might also end their  
 “lives, and that I had done to my prince and country  
 “good service by rooting out such caterpillars from the  
 “earth.’

“*Sidney.* ‘I hope, my lord, you do not mean my lord  
 “admirall.’

“*Essex.* ‘God knowes him to be as honorable in  
 “mind, as he is in birthe, though ther hath bene some  
 “publike jarres, which I know on his parte cam rather  
 “by others provocation than any way of his own dispo-  
 “sition. But I mean of more base condition, tho’ in  
 “greater favour with her matie. who have last secrett  
 “plots and damnable devises to bereave me of my life,  
 “from which purpose my conscience tells me my lord  
 “admirall is free. Yet, good brother, if I yeeld not,  
 “excuse me. For I will stand to my lord Southampton  
 “his resolutione. As for my life, I hav it: and I hav  
 “thought it one of the greatest punishments that ever



"God laid upon me, to suffer me to escape the daunger of my last great sicknes: for juge you, brother, whether it be a greefe or no to a man disended as I am, who have lived in accompt with her matie. as I have done, to be pined up so lounge without any just cause, and to be trodden under foote of every base upstarte; yea, and more than that, to have my life so narrowly sought by them. Would it not greeve you? Yes, yes, I am sure it would. Well; it is no matter: death will end all: and death shall be most welcome: and, since I must die, and they enioie their desire, I will die so honorably as I may. So, good brother, inform my lo. admirall.'

*Sidney.* 'Well, my lord, I will return answer to his lordship.'—After the drum had sounded a second parley, he delivered the answer to lo. Southampton in this sorte. 'My lo. admirall will grant no hostages: but because he understands the ladies be in the house with you, to the end the inocent may not perishe with the guilty, he willethe you to send them forth, and they shall be safely and honorably conveyed to som other place, wher they best like of.'

*Southampton.* 'We thank his lordship for his honorable care of our ladies, which sheweth him to be honorably descended; but we desire him to pardon us in this case; for we prefere our own safty before ther liberty. Wee have now fortified our doores, which stood us in a good while's worke, and if we should unfortifie them for our ladies, we should make open passage for our enimies. But if my lo. admirall will grant us an hower's space to open them for our ladies passages, and another hower after they be gone, with promise upon his honour not to make any attempt upon us in the meane time, then will we willingly suffer our ladies to departe.'

*Sidney* returned with this answer to my lo. admirall, who yeilded to them therein, and by this time, which was about nine of the cloke, was store of powder, shott, and ordinance brought from the tower to batter the house: but when Sidney brought word back to them that they should have ther two hours, and tould them besides of the provisiōe for battry of

“ the house, the earl of Essex requested a time of resolution which was granted ; and, after they had awhile consulted, the earl of Essex told Sidney that they would yield on the conditions : first, that they might be used like honorable prisoners : secondly, that my lo. admiral would promise to make faithful relatione to her matie of whatever they should say for themselves in their own defence : thirdly, that they should have an honorable and just triall : lastly, that, during the tim of ther imprisonment, they might have such devines for their soules health, as wear able to instruct them in matter of religione. These conditions my lo. admirall graunted, and promised on his honor and salvation to see them performed. Whereupon they went down, and opened the doors ; and eche of them upon his knee surrendered his sword. The earl of Essex desired that her matie would inflict all the torments upon him that could be invented, so that the punishment of the rest might be diminished, who entered into the action with him, som for friendship, som for kindred, some for affection, and others as servants to their maisters. The earl of Southampton requested the thinges doubtfully said or done, might be constered to the best waye, which the lo. admirall said should be done. So from thence they went to the places of their severall comittments.

“ by me,  
“ FRANCES BOURCHIER.”

NOTE (S), Page 425.

Though it was frequently reported that the queen had borne children to Leicester, the only individual known to have appeared publicly in that character was an Englishman at Madrid, who assumed the name of Arthur Dudley. Mr. Ellis has published a letter about him from an English spy to lord Burghley, written on May 28, 1588. (Ellis, 2 Ser. iii. 136.) I may add a few more particulars, gleaned from the documents preserved at Simancas.

This adventurer arrived at Madrid about the end of 1586 ; and pretended that he was going to perform a

